HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW
VOLUME XXX APRIL, 1937 NUMBER 2

THE RENASCENCE OF ISLAM *

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THE term 'renascence' in the title of this paper is perhaps a misnomer. Neither the blame for its misapplication, however, nor the credit for a just use of it, should be laid at my door. For it has been employed frequently of late with reference to various developments in several Muslim countries. And the chief aim of the following brief examination of the origins and trends of thought within the world of Islam is simply to discover what meaning, if any, it may have in this connection.

The late Adam Mez of Basel entitled his brilliant analysis of tenth century Muslim culture Die Renaissance des Islams.[1] This title was not entirely satisfactory, Mez felt, but no better suggestion occurred to him. His subject was the transformation of Islam in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era from a simple faith to a complex civilization through the introduction of Greek scientific ideas, Graeco-Roman legal conceptions, and Christian theological doctrines.

This transformation, however, did not signify to any extent a revival of the old Greek spirit of free, rational enquiry into things with its emphasis upon the natural world and this present life in contrast to the supernatural world and the future life, but simply the application of the ideas of Hellenism to the problems raised for the faith and practice of primitive Islam by its very contact with these ideas. It was not so much a rebirth of the Greek spirit as a reincarnation of its works.

The result of that transforming process was the Islam of to-

* Read before the American Historical Association, General Session: Religious Factors in Modern European History. Providence, R. I., Tuesday, Dec. 29, 1936.

[1] Heidelberg, 1922.

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day, a religion co-extensive with a civilization,[2] a civilization whose several elements, whatsoever their source, have been subsumed under the principles of a faith by various dialectical devices. And thus Sir Muḥammad Iqbal could write recently that 'In Islam it is the same reality which appears as Church looked at from one point of view and State from another. . . Islam is a single, unanalysable reality which is one or the other as your point of view varies.' [3]

Sir Muḥammad Iqbal may be speaking here as a Neo-Hegelian, or as a Muslim theologian with Neo-Mu'tazilite persuasions. Nevertheless the identity of religion and civilization in Islam cannot be wholly denied. The religion was a Semitic revelation-religion. The civilization was the Hellenism of the Eastern Roman Empire and Persia. The religion was rationalized, so far as a revelation-religion can be, by means of Greek thought; and it was rounded out to a complex civilization by incorporating into its tolerant framework of a few, simple practices and beliefs the social customs, the legal principles and procedure, the political organization, and the intellectual life of the countries conquered by the Arabs, so long as no ineluctable contradictions arose in the process. The simple beliefs and practices served roughly not only as a touchstone of selection, but also as an agent of dissolution and unification.

Islam and Medieval Christianity were thus, in Kipling's phrase, 'sisters under their skin,' complementary parts of a single civilization that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the western frontiers of India.[4] It is true that for centuries they faced one-another as hostile organizations. Both, however, were rooted in a Semitic religion of revelation. Both inherited and assimilated more or less Greek science and philosophy. Life in both was regulated by the social, economic, and political practices and principles of the Graeco-Roman world. And even their hostility was an heirloom of the religious and political divisions of that world.

There were differences, of course, but religiously-speaking

[2] Cf. C. H. Becker, Islam Studien, p. 24 ff.

[3] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 146.

[4] Cf. C. H. Becker, Islam Studien, p. 1 ff.

nly one of fundamental importance. Islam did not, like Christianity, belong to the so-called religions of salvation. It had, indeed, its Messianic hopes.[5] But in this respect it bears comparison with Judaism rather than with Christianity; and, like Judaism and in contrast to Christianity, it was solidly anchored in a revelation of law, and might, therefore, like Judaism, be characterized as a religion of law. It should not be forgotten, however, as happens too often, that a revealed law was also an essential part of the Christian faith.

Another difference of another sort should also be pointed out perhaps. Islam entered history as a conquering religion in a rather decadent world and not as an insignificant Oriental sect in an established order. The other-worldliness, so prominent in early Christianity, never became dominant in Islam except in mystical circles. Muḥammad himself never rejected this life as evil or even vile, notwithstanding the ascetic tendency of his teaching. Muslim tradition presents him saying, There is no monasticism in my community.[6] And the distinction between church and state never arose in Islam, although the same opposition is found in Islam as in Christianity between the ideal of the holy law of revelation and the profaner practice of society.[7] In Islam, however, these two aspects of human life never became embodied in two separate organizations, but have remained component parts of the one community of Islam.

Nevertheless, Islam and Medieval Christianity were of one piece in their origin and development, and with all their differences they proceed from the same world-view which they found ready-made in the Graeco-Roman world into which they were born, and the elements of which they borrowed and reorganized around their belief in the omnipotent will of the One God and His revelation to man, not so much, indeed, out of a desire to explain that faith as because of the necessity to defend it against foes without and within. And of one piece they remained, kindred systems, intelligible the one to the other,

[5] Cf. I. Friedlaender, Die Messiasidee im Islam (Festschrift. . . . A. Berliner's, 1903, p. 116 ff., esp. p. 121 ff.).

[6] See Musnad of Aḥmed ibn Hanbal (Cairo, 1313 H), VI, 226.

[7] Cf. J. Schacht, G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des Islamischen Rechts, Kap. I.

until the rise of our modern western civilization with its na tional basis and scientific outlook.

The formative period of Islam, as we know it, was the nint and tenth centuries of our era. Thus primitive Islam was i intimate contact with Hellenistic culture for over one hundre years before that culture seems to have made any general im pression upon it. It is true that isolated theological question were debated in the early years of Islam, such as the eterna problem of free-will and predestination,[8] and the essentia nature of religion, does it lie in faith or works?[9]; and it is als probable that these questions were propounded to Islam b Christian theology, as Becker and others maintain.[10] The were not discussed, however, philosophically. The basis of th argument was always the authority of divine revelation.[11]

Metaphysical speculations about their faith do not appear i Muslim circles much before the beginning of the ninth century And it is important to observe that their appearance is synchro nous with the first recorded period of real activity in the trans lation of foreign works into Arabic, in especial of Greek scienti fic and philosophical books, about the time of the Abbasi caliph, Ma'mun (813–833). Perhaps the internecine struggle of the first century and a quarter over the caliphate prevente Muslims from taking any interest in such questions. Or per haps Muslims in general found the success of Islam and it dominant position in the world justification enough for th faith that was in them. Curiously enough, however, it ha taken about the same period for our western civilization t excite any general reaction in Islam, and it is impossible ever today to predict what the effect of the influence of that civili zation will be upon it.

The material and efficient cause of the present crisis in Islam is undoubtedly the economic and political imperialism of th European nations. Since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt on

[8] Cf. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Der Islam, XXI, Heft I, p. 67 ff., 1933), by H. Ritter.

[9] Cf. Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), p. 85, l. 13 ff. H. Ritter, Die Dogmatischen Lehre der Anhaenger des Islam I, p. 132.

[10] Cf. C. H. Becker, Islam Studien, p. 432 ff.

[11] Cf. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (H. Ritter in Der Islam, 1933, XXI, Heft I, p. 67 ff.).

Muslim country after another in North Africa and Asia has become the apanage of a European power. Algiers was occupied by the French in 1830, Tunis in 1881, and Morocco in great part in 1912. After the Sepoy mutiny India became a British colony, and Egypt has been a dependency of Great Britain since 1881. In 1907 Russia and Great Britain divided Persia into two spheres of influence. In 1911/12 Italy conquered Tripoli. And after the Great War, with the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, there remained outside Arabia Proper only three independent Muslim countries, the modern Turkish state, Persia, which had recovered its autonomy and Afghanistan.

Hand-in-hand, moreover, with political domination marched economic exploitation, and the commercial and industrial life of Muslim lands threatened to fall completely, if gradually, into western hands. Fatalism and political quietism seemed engrained in the Muslim character. Islam seemed to have lost the power to develop and to adapt itself to new circumstances and conditions of life and to novel theories of man, God, and the world. The approaching death of Islam was prophesied by many European observers.

The decline of Islam and the supremacy of the West are generally explained by Muslims as the result of three factors: (1) Western Nationalism, with its theory of the state as the seat of authority and its power of organization and of effective social and political action, (2) Western Science, with its method and outlook and its momentous aid and stimulus to industrial and social progress, and (3) the Backsliding of the Muslim peoples, their abandonment of the prophetic teaching and practice, or, to define this factor more precisely, the obscuring of the prophet's essential message with the rank outgrowths of medieval juristic and philosophical interpretation.

Some Muslims, such as the present leaders of Turkey, Khuda Bakhsh, the Indian scholar and translator of von Kremer,[12] and his followers, and the juristic-legislative modernists of Egypt [13]

[12] Cf. His Essays Indian and Islamic, esp. the first and last.

[13] Cf. J. Schacht, Šarī'a und Qānūn im modernen Ägypten (Der Islam, XX, 1932, p. 209 ff.).

pay little or no regard at all to the third factor and deman westernization at all costs. Their program includes separatio of church and state, the entire abrogation of the traditiona system of law, the Sharî'a or canon-law of Islam, and the sub stitution for it of a modern code of laws after a European mode In Turkey these objectives have been achieved; and in Egyp the state is arrogating to itself slowly, but surely, those sphere of law which up till now have been the peculiar province of th Sharî'a or canon-law, such as the Family-Laws, the Inheritance Laws, and the Laws of Waqfs or inalienable religious endow ments.

The Turkish Constitution of April 20, 1924 still declare Islam to be the religion of the state (Art. 2) and provided religious oath to be taken by the deputies and the president o the republic (Arts. 16 and 38). These laws, however, wer abrogated by law 1222 of April 10, 1928, and Turkey is n longer an Islamic state. No Islamic teaching is given in th schools. The compulsory substitution of the Latin alphabe for the Arabic forestalls any reading of the Arabic Koran, or o religious literature in any Islamic language. The monasterie of the religious orders and the tombs of saints have been closed Public and private exercises of the dhikrs, or religious cere monies of the orders, have been forbidden. The number o religious officials has been greatly reduced, and they are ap pointed and strictly supervised by the state authorities.

The state in Turkey has thus achieved what the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy have failed as yet to ac complish. For in Turkey the state controls the church and i the ultimate seat of authority not only in temporal affairs, bu also in religious questions. The authorities may allege tha religion is strictly the concern of the private individual, but they possess and exercise plenary powers over all public expres sions of religion and over all religious officials. It is not difficul to see that the Turkish modernists have been greatly aided t this issue by the absence in Islam of a religious organization separate from that of the state, with its own hierarchy, o governing body.

Events in Turkey have brought to a head the problem of the

relation of the Sharî'a, or holy law of Islam, to the modern nationalistic form of government. For in theory the Sharî'a, or holy law, defines the limits within which the state may have legislative power. In short the seat of legislative authority in Islam is not the state, but the Sharî'a, or holy law.[14]

This is implicit, of course, in any religion of revelation. The law is given. In Islam its sources are the Koran and Hadith, or Traditions, its method of application or development deduction by analogy, and its principle, or standard, the agreement of the jurists. And its consequences and implications are considered to have been fully developed by the end of the tenth century, and in that century independent juristic thinking is supposed to have ceased, just as prophecy failed in Judaism.

In fact, however, the Sharî'a, or holy law, is the result of a religious judgment and valuation of legal matter which itself had no unity: Beduin customary law, the mercantile law of Mecca, the agrarian law of Medina, and a mass of foreign elements adopted during the Conquests, which were systematized and standardized in the Muslim legal schools of the tenth century. The state, moreover, has always had the power of appointment and further has always possessed the right to limit the authority of judges in the acceptance of complaints and the rendering of judgments in time, place, and matter. It could thus stultify at pleasure the Sharî'a, or holy law, and its appointees could always insinuate a new content into an old form. Lawyers have always had the knack of pouring new wine into old bottles. Nevertheless in theory, and also to a great extent in fact, the authority of the Sharî'a, or holy law, has been recognized, and much juristic ingenuity has been spent in the elaboration of legal fictions so as to square practice with the authority on which it is based.[15]

The Sharî'a, or holy law, has thus become a battleground for modernists and fundamentalists over a large part of the Muslim world. In Egypt, for example, the parliament is no

[14] Cf. Ignaz Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien II, p. 66 ff., p. 98 ff.

[15] Cf. Al-Khaṣṣāf's K. al-ḥizal wal-makhārij (see J. Schacht in OLZ, 1924), also his K. adab al-Qāḍī on the possibility of judgeships under a Sulṭān ghā'ir (+ 261). Cf. J. Schacht in Der Islam XV, p. 211 ff., Islamica II, p. 505 ff.

longer willing to allow the Sharî'a to determine its sphere o authority. On the contrary it is resolved to define the limits o the Sharî'a's validity and even encroaches materially upon th field of law hitherto ruled by the Sharî'a, evidence for which may be seen in the many changes recently effected in the laws regulating the family, inheritance, and the waqfs, or inalienable religious endowments, by royal decree, or enactment o parliament.[16]

At present the future seems to lie with the ultra-modernists who desire to westernize and to uproot traditional Islam; and if they are successful, Muslim states will probably usurp authority in every sphere of human activity and assume, as in the case of Turkey, the right to regulate at least the public exercise of religion.

It is difficult to foresee any other outcome. For although the physical equipment and possibly the endowment for a religious organization exist, there is no corporate body in which religion can find its living, concrete expression, except, perhaps, the officialdom of the mosques. The state in the future, however, will probably control these officials, and they have at present less cohesion than their fellow-unitarians in America.

The ultra-modernists and the fundamentalists, who resist all change, do not, however, complete the tale of parties whose activities are shaping the future of Islam. There are the moderate modernists, such as the Neo-Mu'tazilites of India and the Muḥammad 'Abduh party in Egypt, who welcome western ideas as eagerly as the ultra-modernists, but who would cling to the principles of Islamic faith and only surrender those parts of the Sharî'a, or holy law, that are wholly incompatible with the reform of Islamic society on the basis of nationalism and western scientific thought.

The reaction of the Muḥammad 'Abduh party to western ideas has been largely determined by three movements in the Arab world: the rise of Arab nationalism,[17] the renaissance in

[16] Cf. J. Schacht, Šarī'a und Qānūn im modernen Ägypten (Der Islam, XX, 1932, p. 209 ff.). E. Fagnen, Les Statuts gouvernementaux, 1915.

[17] Cf. R. Hartmann, Zum Wesen der arabischen Nationalbewegung (Der Islam, XIX, 1931, p. 185 ff.).

Arab literature,[18] and the religious reformation of the Wahhābites.[19]

The basis of the nationalist movement was an old, deep-rooted, undefined hatred of the Turks, which took the form of a national movement through the introduction of western notions and feelings through the Egyptian press and western missionary schools. It first appeared in concrete form in the League of the Arab Fatherland formed in Paris in 1904, whose moving spirit was the Syrian, Nejīb 'Azūrī, who later founded in Cairo in 1911 a Lodge for the Freedom of the Arabs, after the policy of the Young Turks had thoroughly disillusioned the Arabs of all hopes of self-government within the Turkish Empire. All the threads of the movement, however, ran ultimately into the Committee of Decentralization, in which the Shaykh Muḥammad Reshīd Riḍā played so important a rôle; and he is the editor of al-Manār and the interpreter of Muḥammad 'Abduh's theological position.[20] The history of the movement is well-known. In Egypt it was anti-British, outside Egypt anti-Turkish.

The renaissance movement was in its beginnings a reaction against westernization. The conservatives felt that if their old traditions were to mean anything in the lives of the people, they must be restudied and revalued in modern terms. In Syria this led to an Arab revival, or romantic movement, which sought its inspiration in the literature, culture, and thought of the first Islamic centuries and regarded what came later as decadent and merely imitative. The leader of the movement was Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (1800–71).

Nāṣīf's classical revival was followed by another movement, however, which eventually won for itself a predominant position in Arabic letters. It sought to unite the Arab classical revival with an assimilation of the technique, forms, and mo-

[18] Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. IV, Part IV, p. 745 ff., Vol. V, Part II, p. 311 ff., Vol. V, Part III, p. 446 ff.).

[19] Cf. Amīn Rihani's Ta'rikh Najd al-hadith . . . . wa-sīrat, p. 36 ff. Cf. A. Sanhoury, Le Califat, p. 569 ff., for a sketch of Islam's possible future as state and church.

[20] Cf. on Muḥammad 'Abduh's nationalism R. Hartmann, Zum Wesen der arabischen Nationalbewegung (Der Islam, XIX, 1931, p. 158 ff.).

tives of western literature. The leader of this movement was Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819–83), founder of the first Syrian National School.

The Syrian renaissance was almost wholly the work of Arab Christians, who, of course, could cheerfully toss five or more centuries of Muslim tradition overboard. In Egypt the movement was Muslim, and theological motives inspired a greater caution in this respect. Its representatives here were mainly in the field of education, such as the Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥallāh (1849–1918), chief inspector of Arabic in the government schools for many years, but it also invaded that stronghold of conservatism, the al-Azhar university, and found a vigorous adherent and exponent in Muḥammad 'Abduh, the founder of the moderate modernist party, who was also strongly influenced by that fervent preacher of Pan-Islamism, Jemal al-dīn al-Afghānī,[21]

Thus these two movements, the political and the literary, became united and fused in the person of Muḥammad 'Abduh, a man of strong religious feeling and keen intellect, and would serve of themselves to explain the development of his ideas, and his reaction towards the westernization of Islam, and also the further evolution of his school. Another influence, however, has been recognized by both European and Muslim scholars, namely, the Wahhābite reformation. Its leader, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and his patrons and protectors, the princes of Dar'iya in the Nejd, founded an empire in Arabia in the latter half of the eighteenth century, which included the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and which defied the might of the Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople. The Wahhābites were finally crushed in 1818 by the well equipped armies of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of Egypt, but their power has been restored since 1902 and even extended by the present king of Arabia, Ibn Sa'ūd, a scion of the Dar'iya family, who is regarded by many Arabs as the man destined to support their rights and realize their dream of freedom and unity.

[21] Cf. Cheikh Mohammed Abdou: Risalat Al-Tawhid. Exposé de la Religion Musulmane (Arabic text and French translation). B. Michel & Cheikh Moustapha Abdal Razik, Paris, 1925.

Ignaz Goldziher has already characterized the Muḥammad 'Abduh movement as a Wahhābite culture, and Sir Muḥammad Iqbal considers the Wahhābite reformation as 'the first throb of life in modern Islam,' to whose inspiration 'are traceable, directly or indirectly, nearly all the great modern movements of Muslim Asia and Africa,' as, for example, the Senussi Movement and the Pan-Islamic. For, under the influence of the two fourteenth century theologians, Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil, al-Jauziyya, 'Abd al-Wahhāb demanded a return to the simple customs and faith of the prophet and his immediate followers and the rejection of the casuistry of the law-schools, the dialectics of the theological parties, and the superstitions of the ignorant. The Koran and the Sunna (the prophetical custom) were the only guides to the true faith. Back to the bible and the early Fathers.[22]

The nature of the influence of Wahhābism upon Muslim modernism requires, however, a closer definition. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers mean exactly what they say when they demand a return to the simplicity of faith and works of the Fathers of Islam. They have no ulterior motive in their citation of early authorities. Their object is to restore that faith and revive those works, which is not an altogether idle dream in Arabia even today.

Your modernist, on the other hand, is a nationalist, except in India, where Islam faces a Hindu majority. He is also a rationalist, as the name, Neo-Mu'tazilite, given to an Indian group, indicates, although the Mu'tazilites of the ninth and tenth centuries, after whom they are named, are not now considered to have been rationalists at all.[23] Above all, however, he desires to cultivate western science and would adopt not only its method, but also its theories, as well as the philosophies based upon these theories, such as those of Spencer and Comte of an

[22] Ignaz Goldziher, Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung, Leiden, 1920, p. 321: Sir Muḥammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 145; Goldziher, Vorlesungen, p. 289 ff.

[23] Cf. al-Khaiyat's K. al-intiṣār, etc. (ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo, 1344, 1923). Introd. by editor, also OLZ, 1929, p. 425 ff.

Cf. also A. Jaffery, The Suppressed Qur'ān Commentary of Muḥammed Abū Zaid (Der Islam, XX, 1932, p. 301 ff.).

earlier generation, and those of Russell and Whitehead today.

The motive, therefore, which leads the modernists to discard later authorities, who define and particularize the content of faith and practice, and to go back to the writings of the first generations, which are more concrete and general, is not quite so simple as that of 'Abd al Wahhāb and his followers. They do not seek to revitalize the life of a former age and generation, but only to resurrect its faith and spirit. On the other hand they gain for themselves a freedom of interpretation and application, which enables them to place modern thought under the authority and protection of the Koran and True Tradition, meaning mostly by true tradition whatever seems suitable for their argument.

Islam remains for them the perfect religion, and the Koran is God's word and incomparable. It is the source of all religious and social welfare, and it should be interpreted spiritually in a sense compatible with the civilization of the age. 'The ancients,' says Maḥmūd Sālim, 'employed the ideas of Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and Galen, in their exegesis of the Koran, and we must now do the same with Leibnitz, Comte, and Spencer.' [24]

Sir Muḥammad Iqbal points to 'the general empirical attitude of the Quran, which engendered in its followers a feeling of reverence for the actual and ultimately made them the founders of modern science.' 'The Prophet of Islam,' he says, 'seems to stand between the ancient and modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned, he belongs to the ancient world. In so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned, he belongs to the modern world.' [25] The Sayyid Kerāmat 'Alī finds the Koran and the Traditions in complete essential agreement with the doctrines of European Physics, Astronomy, and Cosmology.[26] And Muḥammad 'Abduh, in his commentary on the Koran, interprets into it Darwin's Origin of Species with its natural selection, its fight for exist-

[24] Cf. al-Manār (Cairo), XIV, 517. Muḥammad 'Abduh cites Herbert Spencer, XII, p. 805. Cf. Sayyid Ameer 'Alí, The Modernity of Islam (Islamic Culture, I, 1927, p. 1 ff.).

[25] Cf. his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 13 and 120.

[26] Cf. ZDMG, XXII, 566, also al-Manār (Cairo), XIV, 577–600.

ence, and its survival of the fittest, as well as modern theories of electricity, pathology, and therapeutics.[27]

The analogy of these movements to some of the developments in Protestant Christianity in the nineteenth century is obvious. It is also clear that our modern western civilization is playing the same rôle in the present development of Islam, as once did Greek thought and Christian doctrine in the evolution of Islam from a primitive faith to the complex civilization which we have known. It is propounding the questions. It is also offering the answers. No one yet knows, however, what are the answers Islam will accept, nor how it will understand them, once accepted, nor what will be the transfusing principles of a future Islamic civilization, if any. Meanwhile the West has no unified world-view to tender to Islam, as once did Hellenism.[28]

[27] Cf. al-Manār, VIII, 738, 929–930; IX, 60, 335 ff.; IV, 335.

[28] But cf. Sayyid Ameer 'Alī, the Modernity of Islam (Islamic Culture, I, 1927, p. 1): 'Our Faith alone holds out the promise that the world is not doomed to relapse into darkness or become wrapt in gross materialism.'

POPE PAUL III AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS*

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. de I.	Archivo General de Indias (Seville).
C. D. I.	Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceania. Madrid, 1864–1884. 42 vols.
C. D. I. U.	Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar. Madrid, 1885–1932. 25 vols.
Hernáez	Francisco Javier Hernáez, Colección de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas. Brussels, 1879. 2 vols.
Pastor	Ludwig Pastor, History of the Popes. London, 1891–1933. 24 vols.
Solórzano	Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Política Indiana. Madrid, 1648.

I

WHEN Alexander VI promulgated the bull Inter caetera on May 4, 1493 granting Spain a large part of the new world, there seems to have been no doubt that the natives who dwelt in the very remote islands and mainlands' would be willing and able to accept the teachings of the Catholic church. For Alexander had been informed that in those far off lands were

very many peoples living in peace and, as reported, going unclothed, and not eating flesh. Moreover, . . . these very peoples . . . believe in one God the Creator in heaven, and seem sufficiently disposed to embrace the Catholic faith and be trained in good morals. And it is hoped that, were they instructed, the name of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, would easily be introduced into the said countries and islands.[1]

* For assistance in collecting the facts upon which the following essay is based, I am indebted to the following persons: Mr. Charles J. Bishko, Mr. Walter Briggs, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, Dr. Marie Edel, Rev. Pedro Leturia, S. J., Señor D. Juan Tamayo y Francisco, Director of the Archivo General de Indias, and to His Eminence Cardinal Mercati, formerly Prefect of the Vatican Library. For the interpretation of these facts, I alone am responsible. I have also been fortunate enough to have had the benefit of various criticisms made by Mr. Wilbur J. Bender, Mr. Thomas Berry, Rev. Benno Biermann, O.P., Professor C. H. Haring, Professor A. P. Whitaker, and above all by Professor George La Piana.

[1] Francis G. Davenport, ed., European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies to 1648 (Washington, D. C., 1917), p. 76.

These optimistic predictions were not fulfilled and, as th Spanish conquest of the Americas proceeded to reveal the exist ence of millions of natives, the action of the papacy in the con version and protection of these masses of Indians became an im portant matter, for as that studious seventeenth century jurist Antonio de León Pinelo, declared:

> Inasmuch as the Indies were conceded to the kings of Castile principally i order to favor and convert the Indians, no harm must come of this concession

León Pinelo considered the subject to be of such importanc that he composed a work entitled Govierno Espiritual i Eclesiás tico de las Indias, unfortunately now lost, which contained among other things, he declared:

> more than three hundred pontifical decisions concerning the Indies, draw from papal bulls and briefs and from replies of the congregations of the card nals, of which I have brought together more than seems possible.[3]

The study of this subject also received an impetus from th controversy which arose following upon the charges of certai writers of the 'Age of Enlightenment' that the papacy had ruth lessly encroached upon Indian liberty. To refute this assertio search was made into the records of the past, and the bull o Pope Paul III was triumphantly cited to prove that the papac attempted to protect and not to despoil the American Indian. It is this single but not inconsiderable issue which will be con sidered in this essay. Whoever attempts to write the ecclesiasti cal history of the Spanish American colonies must grapple wit this problem, and it is hoped that the information brought for ward here will help to resolve it.[5]

[2] Tratado de confirmaciones reales (Buenos Aires [Madrid, 1630], 1922), p. 241.

[3] Andrés Gonzáles de Barcia, ed., Epítome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental, I (Madrid, 1737), 786.

[4] Joseph Hergenröther, Catholic church and Christian state, II (London, 1876), 15 and Ludwig Pastor, History of the Popes, VI (London, 1898), 162.

[5] None of the recent works on the period have considered the American aspect o events. This is true not only of Capasso's books on Paul III but also of the following G. Buschbell, Die Sendungen des Pedro de Marguina an den Hof Karls V im Septem ber/Dezember 1545 und September 1546, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesel schaft, IV (1933), 311–354; Ludwig Cardauns, Zur Geschichte Karls V, 1536–153 Quellen u. Forsch. aus ital. Archiven und Bibl., XII (Rome, 1909), 189–211, 321–36 Walter Friedensburg, Kaiser Karl V. und Papst Paul III. (1534–1549), Schriften d Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Jahrgang 50, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1932), 1–99.

II

From the very beginning of the conquest, opinion was sharply divided concerning the nature of the Indians and their capacity to live according to the ways of Christian Spaniards.[6] Some Spaniards considered the natives as uneducated savages who could become hewers of wood and drawers of water but nothing else. Other Spaniards invited those who held such a low opinion of the Indians to consider first the motes in their own eyes. Juan de Castellanos, the sixteenth century poet-historian, well caught the spirit of the times when in the following verses he portrayed Columbus as replying to the charges of his companions that the Indians were a backward, deceitful people:

> Cuántos pueblos hay entre cristianos
> Por Italia, por Francia, por España,
> Do no halléis lectores ni escribanos
> Ni pueden a las letras darse maña?
>
> Ved vuestros más vecinos y cercanos,
> Ved la rusticidad de la montaña:
> Que sería, si hoy están tan botos,
> Por siglos de memoria tan remotos! [7]

As the discovery and colonization proceeded, the treatment of the Indians became an issue of prime importance, and the Spanish government discovered that the controversy concerning the capacity of the Indians to receive the faith was a fundamental problem which all administrators in the Indies considered a thorny one.

The combatants in this struggle made no effort to compromise. As early as 1517 when Bartolomé de Las Casas was agitating at court for laws to protect the Indians, a member of the royal council suggested that Indians were too low in the scale of

[6] For more information on this controversy consult my essay, The First Social Experiments in America (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).

[7] Elegías de Varones Ilustres de las Indias (Madrid, 1589), Primera parte, elegía I, canto 6, stanza 28. Sixteenth century Spanish poets in general exhibited a very generous and humane spirit whenever they depicted the American Indian. For details on this subject consult John Van Horne's article on The Attitude toward the Enemy in Sixteenth Century Spanish Narrative Poetry, Romanic Review, XVI (1925), 341–361.

humanity to be capable of the faith. Las Casas promptly de clared this opinion to be heretical. To settle the question, h had one of the important theologians of the time, Fray Jua Hurtado, and thirteen other doctors of the University of Sala manca discuss the matter. After considerable debate, the drew up a series of conclusions which they all signed, the fina one being that whoever defended with pertinacity such a prop osition must be put to death by fire as a heretic.[8] These fulm nations evidently effected only a temporary lull, for in 1532 th principal officials, prelates, and friars in New Spain felt it neces sary to state 'that there is no doubt that the natives hav sufficient capacity for the faith and that they greatly love it.' And the theologian Francisco de Vitoria took the trouble to re ply to the charge that Indians were of unsound mind (and henc unable to own property or to exercise true sovereignty) in hi famous lectures De Indis delivered about 1532.[10]

III

It was to combat the charge that the Indians were not capabl of receiving the faith that an earnest and fiery Dominica named Bernadino de Minaya interrupted his missionary labor in the Indies and returned to Spain. Failing to find suppor there he hastened to Rome and laid before Pope Paul III hi contention that the millions of unconquered souls in the Indie ought not to be jeopardized by the selfish designs of thos Spaniards who insisted on considering the natives brutis animals (*bruta animalia*),[11] and therefore unfit for the eterna

[8] Bartolomé de Las Casas, Historia de las Indias, lib. III, cap. 99.

[9] A. de I., Indiferente General 1530, fol. 452.

[10] Section I, proposition 22.

[11] Francisco Javier Hernáez, Colección de Bulas, Breves y Otros Documento Relativos a la Iglesia de América y Filipinas, I (Brussels, 1879), 102.

It may be pertinent to point out here that civilized nations in general have rarel been magnanimous in their attitude toward subject natives. For example, we fin Samuel Sewall at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when he was a judge of th Superior Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony, noting down in his diary that he ha 'essayed to prevent Negroes and Indians being rated as cattle, but could not succeed. [As quoted by William Sumner Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South (Chape

ysteries of the faith. It would be impossible to discover how any *conquistadores* really believed the Indians to be animals. ut there is no doubt that some did hold this view and that if ch an opinion had prevailed the *conquistadores* would have en able to use the lives and property of the defenseless natives nchecked by the protecting hand of the church, and the friars ould have had no souls to win.

Minaya was not the first friar who attempted to secure papal otection for the Indians. As early as 1517 an unnamed

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ll, 1935), p. 4.] And during the Pequot War in 1637 people were not wanting who t that 'the Lord [had] delivered up the heathen as stubble to the sword of his chosen ople and dunged the soil with their flesh.' [Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of rvard College (Cambridge, 1935), p. 177.] In 1703 in the same colony the Reverend muel Hopkins is supposed to have expounded the idea that God had willed the ex-mination of the Indians and therefore had approved when Popham hunted them wn with dogs, a procedure much favored by the Spaniards. [G. Stanley Hall makes is assertion, The Relations between Lower and Higher Races, Proceedings of the assachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, XVII (1903), 7–8.]

The Puritans considered the Indians and negroes accursed savages who might operly be destroyed or enslaved. 'We know not when or how these Indians first be-me inhabitants of the mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil coyed these miserable salvages hither in hope that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ uld never come to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them,' said Cotton ather. [As quoted by Thomas J. Wertenbaker in The First Americans (New York, 27), pp. 231–232.] John Eliot started his missionary work in Massachusetts about 36. Neither he nor his more vocal contemporary Roger Williams ever occupied the ace in the English colonies as protectors of the Indians that Las Casas did in the anish world. Eliot's statement that 'to sell soules for mony seemeth to me a danger-s merchandize' is a mere lamb's bleat to the roars of Las Casas against Spanish actices.

[The best brief comparison of the English and Spanish views and actions on the dian question is Chap. V, The Wards of the Spaniards, in Herbert I. Priestley's The oming of the White Man (New York, 1929). A. W. Lauber's Indian Slavery in olonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States (New York, 1913) is eful too.]

However universal may have been the mistreatment by 'civilized' nations of subject ople, the idea that only the Spaniards were cruel has lingered on in strange places, for e find even such a widely read and critically minded student as William Graham mner asserting: 'The Spaniards and the Portuguese of the sixteenth century treated aborigines with ruthlessness because the aborigines were outside of Christianity and titled to no rights or considerations.' [Selected Essays of William Graham Sumner, G. Keller, ed. (New Haven, 1924), p. 329.] It should be said that one of Sumner's sciples, E. G. Bourne, wrote the first significant and fair-minded work in English on e Spanish colonies.

Dominican had presented a memorial [12] to the king suggesti
that a true account be sent to the pope of the enormities bei
committed against the Indians in spite of the Laws of Burg
(1512). This Dominican had further advocated that the po
be asked to denounce these crimes in a bull, that fines
levied on persons who persisted in such actions, and that t
money thus obtained be used to aid the Indians and to settle
the Indies as colonists a number of Spanish laborers with th
wives. About 1535 still another Dominican, Julián Garc
Bishop of Tlaxcala in New Spain, sent to the pope, Paul III.
long and powerfully worded argument [13] on behalf of the India
which doubtless prepared the way for Minaya's personal repr
sentations made two years later. Garcés was no mean advocat
for, according to the Aragonese chronicler Argensola, he was '
perfect in his knowledge of Latin that Antonio de Nebrija co
fessed that he himself was obliged to study furiously to exce
Garcés.' [14] In order to demolish the argument of those who co
sidered the Indians so brutal and barbarous that they were u
worthy of the name of rational beings, the Bishop of Tlaxca
wrote a 'large, learned and well written' letter to Paul III.[15]

[12] Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista
colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceania, XII (Madrid, 18
1884), 107–108. About the same time Leo X seems to have interested himself in
controversy between the parties contending over the Indian slavery problem,
nothing much is known concerning this matter. The only reference to it occurs i
rare work by Angelo Fabroni, Leonis X Pontificis Vita (Pisa, 1797). The Library
Congress has one of the few copies in the world, a copy which William Hickling Presc
owned in 1829. Unfortunately the Regesta of Leo X compiled by Cardinal Jose
Hergenröther (Freiburg, 1884) do not go beyond 1515.

[13] Hernáez, vol. I, pp. 56–65. For a bibliographical note on Garcés and a list of ot
volumes in which the letter has been printed, see Robert Streit, Bibliotheca Missionu
I (Münster, 1916), 14. The Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) possesses a Memoria
Diferentes Autores Hacen del Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Julián Garcés, Primero Obispo
Pueblo de los Angeles, Sección de Manuscritos, Ms. 3048, no. 1. Among the unp
lished works of Dr. Nicolás León was a study entitled Documentos y Noticias Inédi
o Poco Conocidos referentes al Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Julián Garcés, Primer Obispo
Tlaxcala, Dr. Nicolás León. Noticia de Sus Escritos Originales Impresos e Inédi
. . . 1874 a 1925 (Mexico, 1925?), p. 37.

[14] Bartolomé Juan Leonardo de Argensola, Anales de la Corona de Aragón, lib.
cap. 74.

[15] Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Politica Indiana (Madrid, 1648), lib. II, cap. 1, núm.
Agustín Dávila Padilla asserts that this letter was printed in Rome in 1537, Historia
la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México de la Orden de Predi
dores, lib. I, cap. iii.

In this letter Garcés lauded the Indians' intelligence and llingness to receive the faith, and declared they were not rbulent or ungovernable but reverent, shy, and obedient to eir teachers.' Although acknowledging that some misguided aniards believed the Indians unfit to belong to the church d incapable of comprehending its mysteries, he held strongly at the pope ought to reject such a conception, 'which had rely been prompted by the devil himself.' He defended the dians against the charge of barbarity, cruelty, and cannibal-n, cited many examples of their aptitude for Christianity, and osed with an enthusiastic description of the recent missionary tivity of Bernadino de Minaya on the road from Mexico to icaragua. According to Bishop Garcés, Minaya's efforts had en miraculously successful, and the crowds of natives who cked to hear his message afforded a convincing illustration the aptitude and yearning of the millions of Indians for the essings of Christianity. Minaya's journey to Nicaragua, con-nued Garcés, had been a triumphal procession, resulting in the struction of many pagan idols, the foundation of many urches, and the baptism of many Indians, who, although ey had never seen a single missionary before, received him ith garlands of roses, offered him food and drink, swept the reets of the towns through which he passed exceedingly clean his honor, and gave thanks to God after him with the same ords, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.*[16]

Following the representations of Bishop Garcés and Minaya, aul III issued on June 9, 1537, the momentous bull Sublimis eus in which he declared:

> The sublime God so loved the human race that He created man in such wise at he might participate, not only in the good that other creatures enjoy, t endowed him with capacity to attain to the inaccessible and invisible preme Good and behold it face to face; and since man, according to the stimony of the sacred scriptures, has been created to enjoy eternal life and ppiness, which none may obtain save through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, is necessary that he should possess the nature and faculties enabling him to ceive that faith; and that whoever is thus endowed should be capable of re-iving that same faith. Nor is it credible that any one should possess so little derstanding as to desire the faith and yet be destitute of the most necessary

[16] Hernáez, vol. I, p. 65.

faculty to enable him to receive it. Hence Christ, who is the Truth itself, th
has never failed and can never fail, said to the preachers of the faith whom H
chose for that office 'Go ye and teach all nations.' He said all, without e
ception, for all are capable of receiving the doctrines of the faith.

The enemy of the human race, who opposes all good deeds in order to bri
men to destruction, beholding and envying this, invented a means never b
fore heard of, by which he might hinder the preaching of God's word of Sa
vation to the people: he inspired his satellites who, to please him, have n
hesitated to publish abroad that the Indians of the West and the South, a
other people of whom We have recent knowledge should be treated as dum
brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receivi
the catholic faith.

We, who, though unworthy, exercise on earth the power of our Lord a
seek with all our might to bring those sheep of His flock who are outside i
the fold committed to our charge, consider, however, that the Indians a
truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the catho
faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive
Desiring to provide ample remedy for these evils, We define and declare h
these our letters, or by any translation thereof signed by any notary publ
and sealed with the seal of any ecclesiastical dignitary, to which the sam
credit shall be given as to the originals, that, notwithstanding whatever ma
have been or may be said to the contrary, the said Indians and all other peop
who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived
their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outsi
the faith of Jesus Christ; and that they may and should, freely and legi
mately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property; nor shou
they be in any way enslaved; should the contrary happen it shall be null a
of no effect.

By virtue of our apostolic authority We define and declare by these prese
letters, or by any translation thereof signed by any notary public and seal
with the seal of any ecclesiastical dignitary, which shall thus command t
same obedience as the originals, that the said Indians and other peoples shou
be converted to the faith of Jesus Christ by preaching the word of God and
the example of good and holy living.[17]

It was this pronouncement which led the eighteenth centur
rationalist De Pauw to declare:

At first the American natives were not considered men but orang-outan
which might be destroyed without remorse and without reproach. Finall
to add ridiculousness to the calamities of that time, a Pope issued a bull
which he declared that, having founded bishopries in the richest parts
America, he and the Holy Spirit were pleased to recognize the Americans
true men. So that without that decision of an Italian the inhabitants of t
new world would still be, in the eyes of the faithful, a race of animals

[17] Translated by Francis MacNutt, Bartholomew de Las Casas (New York, 190
pp. 427–431.

doubtful nature. There is no example of a similar decision since the world was inhabited by apes and by men.[18]

In issuing this bull Paul III was following the established tradition of the Christian church. From its earliest days Christianity had proclaimed in the most solemn and exalted terms the absolute spiritual equality and brotherhood of all men.

A study of the famous and oft-quoted bull Sublimis Deus, by which Paul III reaffirmed the Christian doctrine, reveals its significance, first, in the history of Spanish-papal relations, and secondly, in the long story of the battle over the capacity of the American Indians.

Paul III may have issued the bull solely because of his desire to protect the Indians, but it is possible that this shrewd and tenacious ruler also intended the bull to be the opening wedge for a more aggressive papal program in the affairs of the Indies. Shortly before issuing the bull Sublimis Deus, Paul, probably at Minaya's instigation, had enthusiastically supported, in the brief Pastorale Officium, the Emperor's recent declaration against enslaving the Indians and despoiling them of their goods,[19] and added the penalty of excommunication for those who violated the law.[20] Moreover, on June 1, 1537, Paul had handed down an important decision concerning Indian baptism

[18] Corneille de Pauw, Recherches philosophiques sur les américains, ou mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine, I (Cleves, 1772), 38.

Of course this shallow and supercilious interpretation of De Pauw was combatted by contemporary writers friendly to Spain. Francisco Clavijero, the Mexican Jesuit, correctly stated in his Storia antica del Messico (Cesena, 1780–1781) that the bull 'no tiene por objeto declarar que los Americanos son realmente hombres, pues esto sería una insensatez agena de aquél, y de cualquier otro sumo pontífice: si no sostener los derechos naturales de los Americanos, contra las tentativas de sus perseguidores, y condenar la injusticia, y la inhumanidad de aquellos que, bajo pretexto de ser los Indios idólatros, e incapaces de instrucción, les quitaban los bienes, y la libertad, y los empleaban a guisa de animales. Los Españoles en verdad hubieran sido mas estúpidos que los más incultos salvages del Nuevo Mundo, si, para reconocer por hombres a los Americanos, hubieran necesitado aguardar la decisión de Roma. Mucho antes que el papa espidiese aquella bula, los reyes Católicos habian recomendado eficazmente la instrucción de los Americanos, dando las ordenes mas urgentes para el menor perjuicio en sus bienes, ni en su libertad.' The quotation comes from the Spanish version, Historia antigua de Méjico, translated by José Joaquín Mora, II (London, 1826), 331–332.

[19] Probably this refers to the royal order dated Aug. 2, 1530. [D. I. U., vol. X, pp. 38–43.]

[20] Hernáez, vol. I, pp. 101–102.

in the bull Altitudo Divini Consilii.[21] Shortly afterward, o June 9, had been issued the bull Veritas Ipsa which strongl condemned the enslaving of the Indians.[22]

It should be pointed out that these strongly worded papa declarations came at a time when the Spanish theologian Fran cisco de Vitoria was slowly turning over in his mind the theoreti cal problems created by the discovery of the new world. It i possible that this *prima* professor of theology at the Universit of Salamanca may have been influenced by Paul III.[23] For th corner stone of Vitoria's system, which some jurists today hol to be the true foundation of international law, was equality o states, applicable not merely to the states of Christendom an of Europe but also to the barbarian principalities in America.[24]

IV

By the papal pronouncements just mentioned, Paul mani fested a greater interest in the Indies than had any earlier pop — an interest which a king jealous of his prerogatives migh look upon with suspicion. And Charles V had good reason t look to his ecclesiastical privileges when an aggressive and skill ful ruler bent upon recovering lost prestige occupied the Hol See. The papacy had not strengthened its position in Spai

[21] *Ibid.*, vol. I, 65–67. As José Toribio Medina pointed out, this bull was importan not only because of its clauses against slavery but also because it relegated the Indian in all matters of faith, to the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops, giving the bisho power 'ut ipsos apostatas ex vestris dioecesibus omnino expellatis et expellere satagati ne teneras in fide animas corrumpere et seducere possint.' This provision paved th way for such inquisitorial proceedings against the Indians as made Bishop Land notorious. [Fray Diego de Landa, Inquisidor de los Indios de Yucatán, Proceeding International Congress of Americanists. London. 1912 (London, 1913), pp. 484–496.]

[22] For excellent bibliographical notes on these bulls consult Robert Ricard, L 'Conquête Spirituelle' du Mexique (Paris, 1933), p. 111, and Robert Streit, Bibliothec Missionum, vol. I, p. 15. The best Spanish translation of Sublimis Deus is given b Mariano Cuevas, Documentos Inéditos del Siglo XVI para la Historia de Méxic (Mexico, 1914), pp. 84–86.

[23] Luis G. Alonso Getino remarks upon the similarity between the ideas advanced b Garcés in his letter to the pope and Vitoria's doctrine, El Maestro Fr. Francisco c Vitoria, rev. ed. (Madrid, 1930), p. 148. Vitoria had been invited by Paul III in 1536 t come to Rome to help prepare for the Church Council, but did not go.

[24] James Brown Scott, the Spanish Origin of International Law. Francisco de Vitor and His Law of Nations (Oxford, 1934), p. 281.

ince the time of Ferdinand and Isabella and even then the apacy had not enjoyed much power in Spain.

In the new world the Spanish monarchs enjoyed even greater ecclesiastical power. From the first they had adopted an independent attitude concerning the bulls to be sent to the Indies.[25] The first bulls despatched were amended by Ferdinand, a matter which the Spanish ambassador Francisco de Rojas found difficult to explain to the entire satisfaction of the papal court.[26] Before the conquest was well under way Alexander VI conceded to Ferdinand and Isabella by the bull Eximiae dated November 16, 1501, the right to collect tithes from the inhabitants 'of the islands and regions of the Indies, . . . the Lateran Council, other apostolic constitutions and ordinances or other decrees, to the contrary notwithstanding.'[27] The power to collect tithes did not long satisfy Ferdinand, who had earlier manifested in Granada's ecclesiastical affairs a 'política tenaz y absorbente,' as one Spanish scholar has described it.[28]

The Catholic Kings decided in 1504 to send a special mission to Julius II to congratulate him on his election to the papacy.[29] In preparation for this event, one of the prominent jurists of the day, Dr. Juan López Palacios Rubios, drew up at royal command a treatise entitled De Beneficiis in Curia vacantibus, sive

[25] No thorough, complete account exists of the American aspects of Spanish-papal relations in the sixteenth century. A very valuable survey of the materials available is found in Ricardo de Hinojosa's Los Despachos de la Diplomacia Pontificia en España (Madrid, 1896). Pedro Leturia has written several excellent articles which bring together many important facts, El Regio Vicariato de Indias y los Comienzos de la Congregación de Propaganda, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, II (1930), 133–177; Las Grandes Bulas Misionales de Alejandro VI: 1493, Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum, I (1930), 211–251; Der heilige Stuhl und das spanische Patronat in Amerika, Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, XLVI (1926), 1–80; and Felipe II y el Pontificado en un momento culminante de la historia Hispano-americana, Estudios Eclesiásticos, núm. extraordinario de 1928. See also the earlier chapters in J. Lloyd Mecham's Church and State in Latin America (Chapel Hill, 1934) and other works cited therein.

[26] A. Rodríguez Villa, Don Francisco de Rojas, Embajador de los Reyes Católicos, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, vol. XXVIII, p. 190.

[27] Hernáez, vol. I, pp. 20–21.

[28] Pedro Leturia, El Origen histórico del Patronato de Indias, Razón y Fe, LXXVIII (1927), 20–36.

[29] Eloy Bullón y Fernández, Un Colaborador de los Reyes Católicos; el doctor Palacios Rubios y sus Obras (Madrid, 1927), p. 69.

pro tuendo Regum Castellae jure patronatus etiam in his bene ficiis quae in curia romana vacaverint, in which he supporte 'with ardor and erudition' the thesis that royal power should b supreme in matters of church patronage.[30] Queen Isabella' death stopped the projected mission, but on September 1 1505, Ferdinand notified the pope that the bulls recently issue for the archbishop and bishop of Española did not concede th desired patronage power. He bluntly informed Julius: 'It i necessary that Your Holiness concede all of the said patronag in perpetuity to me and my successors.'[31]

Isabella's death and the subsequent short rule of Philip o Austria, during which Ferdinand had no jurisdiction ove Castile, served only as momentary interruptions in the develop ment of Ferdinand's papal policy. Once back at the helm i 1508, Ferdinand ordered his ambassador at the Vatican to pre sent to Julius II an 'Argument concerning the obedience whic Spain owes to the pope.'[32] In this rare imprint Ferdinan appealed for aid in his North African wars and pointed wit pride to previous Spanish achievements including the conques of 'the newly discovered islands which are already practicall suburban estates of Spain.' Ferdinand appealed in language that was sure to be understood by the bellicose Julius, for h described fully his military and naval preparations and close with the significant words *Non petimus milites, non equos, no arma, non classes, non commeatus; thesauros ecclesiae petimus* The details of this proposal, including the nature of the *thesauros ecclesiae*, were to be explained secretly to the pope. Though the intricacies of European politics probably figured most prominently in these secret instructions, the ecclesiastical affairs of the 'newly discovered islands' were not neglected, because in the same month, July 1508, Julius conceded to the Spanish monarchs by the bull Universalis Ecclesiae the right to make all important ecclesiastical appointments in the Indies.[33]

[30] Eloy Bullón y Fernández, pp. 240–241.

[31] Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones españolas de Ultramar, XIV (Madrid, 1885–1932), 102–105.

[32] Henry Harrisse, Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. Additions (Paris, 1872), p. 41.

[33] Hernáez, vol. I, pp. 24–26.

The Emperor Charles V carried on Ferdinand's papal policy. As a Spanish scholar, Father Luciano Ildefonso Serrano y Pineda, has well stated:

> The spirit which dominated the policy of Charles V, above all in his relations with the papacy, was that of a nationalistically minded Spaniard, and whoever ignores this fact fails to understand the secret of sixteenth century politics.[34]

A little known bull,[35] Intra Arcana, issued by Clement VII to Charles V on May 8, 1529, confirms Serrano's statement and proves that the Emperor held on to the patronage power previously won from the papacy. This bull conceded the Emperor great power to present to benefices in the Indies and even to decide ecclesiastical law suits. The livings specifically named included canonries, prebends, and parsonships. In the light of the attitude toward the Indians adopted later by Paul III, it is interesting to find Clement VII saying in this 1529 bull, addressing the Emperor:

> We trust that, as long as you are on earth, you will compel and with all zeal cause the barbarian nations to come to the knowledge of God, the maker and founder of all things, not only by edicts and admonitions, but also by force and arms, if needful, in order that their souls may partake of the heavenly kingdom.[36]

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[34] Primeras Negociaciones de Carlos V, Rey de España, con la Santa Sede (1516–1518), Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española de Arqueología e Historia en Roma, II (Madrid, 1914), 68.

[35] Probably a fair number of papal pronouncements on American affairs are still to be found. Pastor (vol. VI, p. 97) cites an unpublished bull, and a rare imprint has just come to light which includes a brief issued by Clement VII in 1532 to Alfonso Mateo of Española giving him power to create notaries and judges, legitimate children, and grant titles of Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor. M. Serrano y Sanz, Un Impreso rarísimo de 1532, con Noticias de Indias, [Erudición Ibero-americana, III (Madrid, 1932), 241–247].

[36] Confidimus te, quoad in humanis degeris barbaras nationes ad rerum omnium opificem et conditorem deum cognoscendum non solum edictis admonitionibusque, sed etiam armis et viribus (si opus fuerit) ut earum animae caelestis regni fiant participes compulsurum.

The original minute of this bull is to be found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. 35, t. 34, fols. 21–24. The New York Public Library also possesses an unpublished brief Nuper Maiestati issued by Clement in March, 1530, which freed all persons from the penalties of former papal decrees, which they might have feared to incur by favoring the Emperor's authority in ecclesiastical appointments. Clement here stated explicitly that archbishops and bishops were nominated by the Emperor. Mr. Wilberforce Eames was good enough to locate this bull and brief and have them photostated for my use together with a report made on March 6, 1850, on the material by Professor G. W. Alexander of Princeton which has been used in preparing this essay.

The causes for Clement's wide grant of power to Charles V may be at least partially explained by the vicissitudes of European politics. Earlier in his pontificate Clement seemed to favor the French, which led Charles to call him 'that poltroon the pope,'[37] but the sack of Rome by imperial soldiers in 1527 and his subsequent imprisonment in San Angelo influenced Clement to favor Charles.[38] Clement confirmed in the most emphatic terms all the concessions made by his predecessors to Spanish monarchs.[39] On May 7, 1529, Clement sent to the Emperor an autograph letter of thanks for the restoration of the fortresses of Ostia and Cività Vecchia and two days later sent as a special messenger his Master of the Household, Girolamo da Schio, who carried with him the bull of the Cruzada and other tokens of grace — including probably the bull of May 8 described above — and had full powers to conclude a treaty with the Emperor.[40] Shortly afterward Miguel Mai, the imperial ambassador, reported in cipher to Charles: 'The Pope shows great desire to be in intimate relation with His Imperial Majesty,' and he believed that the pope would grant anything that might be asked of him, except money.[41] A defensive alliance was concluded on June 19 at Barcelona and was sealed in the customary way by a marriage compact, between Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, and Alessandro de' Medici.[42] The treaty helped to set the Emperor's hands free in western Europe so that he might embark upon his African campaigns [43] and led to the formal imperial coronation at Bologna in

[37] Pastor, vol. IX, p. 271.

[38] If we follow Professor Hans Zinsser, the latest and most persuasive exponent of the louse theory of history, this bull may be considered a result of the plague which broke out amongst the French army besieging Naples in 1528. The pestilence rapidly destroyed French power in Italy and led directly to the dependence of Clement VII upon Charles V. [Rats, Lice and History (Boston, 1935), pp. 252–253.]

[39] Asensio de Morales, Patronato eclesiástico de los Reyes de España, Revista general de Legislación y Jurisprudencia, XL (1872), 70.

[40] Pastor, vol. X, p. 55.

[41] Calendar of State Papers. Spanish. Pascual de Gayangos, ed., vol. IV, part I (London, 1879), 78.

[42] Pastor, vol. X, p. 56.

[43] Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire, vol. III, p. 297.

1530 and to one of the most brilliant years of his life.[44] One of the important provisions of the treaty was that Charles promised to use force to put down the schismatic Lutherans if amicable means failed — an interesting parallel to the order given him by the May 8 bull to use force against the American Indians if necessary in order to convert them.

At the time that Clement urged Charles to use force and arms if necessary to convert the heathen infidels, probably little was known concerning the importance of the problem so far as it concerned America, and perhaps even less was known concerning the natives themselves. True, Cortez had sent a group of Indian acrobats to the pope shortly after receiving in July 1529 the dignity of the 'Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca.' As Bernal Diaz tells the story,[45] Clement received from Juan de Herrera, the special ambassador Cortez sent to Rome:

> a rich present of precious stones and jewels of gold and two Indians dextrous at juggling the stick with the feet, and he reported to him his arrival in Castile, and the countries he had conquered and the services he had rendered to God in the first place and to our great Emperor, and he gave him a full account in a Memorial [46] of those countries, how very extensive they were, and what was their nature, and how all the Indians were idolators and had become Christians, and many other things which it was proper to mention to our Holy Father . . . after he [Herrada] had been to kiss the sainted feet of His Holiness, he presented the gifts which Cortez sent to him, and the Indians who juggled the stick with their feet, and His Holiness greatly appreciated them, and said that he thanked God that such great countries had been discovered in his days, and such numbers of people had embraced our holy faith, and he ordered processions to be made and all to give thanks and praise to God for it, and he said that Cortez and all of us his soldiers had rendered great service, first of all to God, and then to our Lord the Emperor Don Carlos and to all Christendom, and that we were worthy of great reward. Then he sent us a Bull to absolve us from the blame and punishment of all our sins, and other indulgences for the hospitals and churches, and general pardons.

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[44] Louis Prosper Gachard, Relations des Ambassadeurs vénitiens sur Charles-Quint et Philippe II (Brussels, 1855), p. ix.

[45] True History of the Conquest of Mexico, A. P. Maudslay, ed., V (London, 1916), 151–153. Friar Domingo de Betanzos, who held a low opinion of the Indians, was also favorably received by Clement VII a couple of years after Cortez sent his ambassador but not much is known of this episode. [Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca, Justo Cuervo, ed., III (Salamanca, 1915), 64.]

[46] This memorial should prove to be an interesting document if ever found. Cardinal Mercati, Prefect of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, was kind enough to search there but was not able to locate it.

Whatever Clement may have believed or was told concerning the nature of the Indians, his confirmation of previous concessions and his grant of others helped to consolidate the ecclesiastical power of the Spanish kings in the Indies, a power which the distinguished Mexican historian Joaquín García Icazbalceta has described as follows:

> By virtue of the bull of Julius II and of other concessions subsequently secured, the Spanish kings came to exercise a power in the ecclesiastical government of America which, except in purely spiritual matters, appeared to be pontifical. Without the king's permission, no church, monastery, or hospital could be constructed and no bishopric or parish erected. No priest or friar might go to America without his express license. The kings named bishops and without waiting for their confirmation by the pope, sent them out to administer their dioceses. The kings marked out the boundaries of their bishoprics and changed them at their pleasure. They could appoint to any religious office — even to that of sacristan — if they wished. They had the power to reprove severely, to recall to Spain, or to banish any ecclesiastical official, including bishops who, even though they might often dispute with governors, never failed to listen to the voice of the king. The kings administered and collected the tithes, decided how and by whom they should be paid, without reference to bulls of exemption. They fixed the income of the benefices and increased or diminished them as they saw fit. They tried many ecclesiastical suits and, by the use of force, paralyzed the action of church tribunals or prelates. Lastly, no decision of the pope himself could be carried out in the Indies without the permission of the king. And in the records of the early church in America are found a hundred laws or provisions emanating from the king or Council of the Indies for every bull or brief sent from Rome.[47]

The state-church which resulted from the exercise of these great powers of the Spanish monarchs over church affairs in the Indies was a noteworthy but not wholly unique phenomenon in sixteenth century Europe. The ecclesiastical privileges and prerogatives of the kings of France and Spain were considerable, but the closest parallel to the *real patronato* of the Indies was the *Monarchia Sicula* which the rulers of Sicily had enjoyed since the Normans had established themselves there in the eleventh century. Norman kings had usually considered ecclesiastical affairs as part and parcel of the business of the state and Pope Urban II had been prevailed upon in 1098 to grant Roger I, Count of Sicily, special privileges in ecclesiastical administration. This grant, as confirmed and interpreted by Paschal II in

[47] Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga (Mexico, 1881), pp. 128–129.

117,[48] empowered Roger and his heirs to hold the *vicem legati*, or ıe privilege of acting in place of a legate. Spanish monarchs ever enjoyed the title and theoretical powers as *vicem legati* ı the Indies but their actual powers seem to have included ractically everything embraced by the *Monarchia Sicula*, hich led Solórzano to refer to the *patronato* of the Spanish kings s the 'renuevo americano de la célebre Monarchia Sicula.'[49]

Naturally the popes did not consider the grants as irrevoable. At least in the time of Philip II, it is known that he was nable to get the *Monarchia Sicula* officially confirmed and it is ot unlikely that Paul III, when faced with the strongly inrenched power of the Spanish monarchs in the ecclesiastical ffairs of the new world, may have seized the opportunity to trengthen the power of the papacy in the Indies when Friar ernadino de Minaya hurried from Peru to Rome in order to in protection for the American Indians.[50]

V

The career of this Bernadino de Minaya, whose representaions led Paul III to issue his well known bull, offers an excellent lustration of the widespread character of the dispute concernng the capacity of the Indians. In a hitherto unknown and unublished memorial of his services to the Spanish crown, reently discovered by accident in the Simancas archive,[51] this

[48] Angelo Mercati, ed., Raccolta di Concordati (Rome, 1919), pp. 1–2.

[49] I owe this reference to Pedro Leturia's recent work La Emancipación hispanomericana en los informes episcopales a Pio VII (Buenos Aires, 1935), p. 3.

Portuguese monarchs also enjoyed great ecclesiastical powers. One writer believes hat 'probably in no European state was the *Placetum regium* used so widely, or so trictly and for so long a time, as in Portugal and its colonies. . . . Without the *exequatur* of the cabinet, neither ordinance of bishop nor decree of Pope, whether dogmatic or isciplinary, had any validity in law which was recognized by the state within the Portuguese dominions. The publication of any act which was not pleasing to the uthorities became physically impossible.' [Adelhelm Jann, Die katolischen Missionen n Indien, China und Japan (Paderborn, 1915), pp. 112–113.]

[50] According to Pastor (vol. XX, pp. 499–500), 'Paul III's pontificate formed an poch in the development of the hierarchy in America, and no less than ten dioceses wed their origin to his pastoral care.'

[51] Archivo General de Simancas, Sección de Estado, Legajo 892, fol. 197 ff. Undated nemorial to the king. A transcription of the pertinent parts of this letter is given as Appendix II of this essay.

relatively obscure friar reveals new details of the conquest Central America and of Peru which warrant lengthy quotatio Minaya was a typical representative of the contempora Spanish friars who were eager for the conversion of the nativ and one of the hundreds of brave ecclesiastics who spontan ously rose to spread their faith overseas. Shortly after witnes ing the baptism of Prince Philip in Valladolid in June 1527, departed from San Pablo de Valladolid for the Indies,' state Minaya in the memorial designed to secure a pension to suppo his old age:

and I was accompanied by seven other ecclesiastics likewise moved by ze for the conversion of those peoples to our holy faith. Arriving in Mexico, were sent to various provinces, I going to Oaxaca, about eighty leagues fr Mexico City. Here I erected a monastery and later raised others in Angu tan (?) and in Tehuantepec in which I gathered groups of sons of the princi Indian chieftains. Having taught some three hundred or more of these went to Soconusco and then . . . to the province of Nicaragua baptizing t natives as I went.[52] . . . The Indians coming out to receive me with laurels roses and with foodstuffs . . . and after being taught they voluntarily burn their idols and temples. Having arrived in the city of Leon, Nicaragua . . began to teach many Indians although Bishop Osorio and the Alcalde May Licentiate Castañeda believed many of them incapable because they had sa [considered?] the Ave Maria was something to eat. During Lent I remain there teaching the Indians and preaching to the Spaniards and at Easter tir I brought the Indians before the Bishop and Castañeda and proved that t Indians had the ability to become Christians. While in Leon, news came of t discovery of Peru.[53] When some Indians were sent to Panama to be sold slaves . . . I notified Pizarro of Your Majesty's law against enslaving India even when they were the aggressors.[54] He proclaimed the law but at the sa time stopped giving me and my companions maintenance. Whereupon I t Pizarro to take care what he did because the Emperor would disapprove wh he was doing. Moreover, inasmuch as we were near[55] the lord Atabal

[52] Streit (Bibliotheca Missionum, vol. II, p. 29) states that Bartolomé de Las Ca and Pedro de Angulo accompanied Minaya but this is by no means certain.

[53] Minaya may have been one of the six friars Friar Reginaldo de Pedraza was structed by royal order in 1529 to take to Peru. [Federico González Suarez, Histo eclesiástica del Ecuador, I (Quito, 1881), 24.] On the other hand, Minaya may ha been one of those restless friars who wandered to Peru without authority, a comm practice in the early days of the conquest, according to a report dated Feb. 3, 15 made by Bishop Berlanga. [Henry R. Wagner, The Spanish Southwest, 1542–17 An Annotated Bibliography (Berkeley, 1924), p. 48.]

[54] Probably Minaya referred to the ordinances Charles V issued on Dec. 4, 1528, the good treatment of the Indians [D. I. U., vol. IX, pp. 386–399] or to the law dat Aug. 2, 1530, against enslaving the Indians. [Ibid., vol. X, pp. 38–43.]

[55] Though it is impossible to determine the exact date of this conversation w Pizarro, probably it occurred some time in the period May-September, 1532.

tahualpa], I advised him to give me an interpreter and I offered to go with
y companions to preach to Atabalica, who, if he should kill us, would thereby
ure our eternal salvation by martyrdom and would also afford Pizarro a
fficient reason for waging just war against the Indians. I explained further
Pizarro that God had made known the Indies to us in order that we might
n the souls of the inhabitants thereof . . . that if Atabalica received the
ith, all his subjects would follow him and thus Pizarro would show himself a
ue captain and what he gained would be well gained. . . . I also proposed
at we should explain to the Indians the reason for our coming:[56] to make God
own to them and not to rob them or despoil them of their lands. Pizarro
sponded that he had not come for any such reasons; he had come from
exico to take away from them their gold and he refused to do what I asked.[57]
straightway took leave of him with my companions. When he enquired
hether I wanted to take my share of the gold won from the towns already
bdued, I replied that I did not want any part of that gold; that it had been
on unjustly and that I did not wish to lend approval by my presence to such
bberies.[58] And shortly afterward we arrived at Panamá, suffering great
unger because the master of the ship refused us food [on account of their

[56] The Franciscans with Cortez explained to the Indians that they were not gods but
en sent by the pope to bring them eternal salvation, not to hunt for gold. [Jerónimo
endieta, Historia eclesiástica indiana, J. García Icazbalceta, ed. (Mexico, 1870),
. 213.] The Jesuit Gonzalo de Tapia declared to the Indians of Orobatu, New Spain,
1591: 'We have not come to seek gold or silver in your lands, nor to make slaves of
our women and children. We come to you alone, few in number and unarmed; and we
me only to give you the knowledge of the Creator of heaven and earth, for without
is knowledge and faith you will be unhappy forever.' [W. Eugene Shiels, Gonzalo de
apia, Founder of the First Permanent Jesuit Mission in North America (New York,
934), p. 97.] See also José María Póu y Marti, El Libro perdido de las Pláticas o
oloquios de los Doce Primeros Misioneros de México, Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle,
II (Rome, 1924), 281–333. Many other instances might be given.

[57] When Cortez had been offered a grant of land on his arrival in Española in 1504
e is supposed to have refused haughtily, saying, 'I came to get gold, and not to till the
oil like a peasant.' [Prescott, The Conquest of Mexico, I (Philadelphia, 1890), 195.]

[58] Minaya's fracas with Pizarro was not the first in the Indies. There had been so
many that a royal order of Jan. 25, 1531, was sent to the Dominican Provincial of New
Spain, stating that 'ecclesiastics must not preach or speak against persons in authority
n such a way as to produce a scandal but should reprove them privately and send word
o the King.' [Disposiciones Complementarias de Leyes de las Indias, I (Madrid,
930), 1.] Rev. Benno Biermann, O.P., believes that this royal order was a result
f Las Casas' fiery denunciations from the pulpit in Puerto de la Plata.

The reproaches of Minaya and other ecclesiastics against the Peruvian *conquistadores* often had a decided influence as may be seen from the wills they left. Manuel Sierra de Leguizamo doubted that he had acted justly toward the Peruvian Indians and over fifty years after he had helped to conquer their lands he made provision in his will for pious works as an atonement. [Manuel de Mendiburu, Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú, vol. VII, pp. 391–399.] Another such will was made by Nicolás de Ribera el Viejo in 1556. [José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, El Primer Alcalde de Lima Nicolás de Ribera el Viejo y su Posteridad (Lima, 1935), pp. 28–29.] Mr. Bertram Lee of Lima states that he has seen many similar wills. It is interesting to note that Spaniards in the

opposition to enslaving the Indians] . . . later we arrived in Mexico where tl Lord brought me at the very time that a law had arrived from Cardin Loaysa in which he ordered captains to enslave Indians at their will.[59] He w. influenced to do this by a Dominican named Domingo de Betanzos[60] who h stated before the council of the Indies that the Indians could never becon Christians despite all that the Emperor, the Pope, the Virgin, and all tl celestial orders might do. When the law which permitted the enslavement the Indians arrived, Don Sebastian Ramírez, Bishop of Santo Domingo ar President of the Audiencia in Mexico, called in all the ecclesiastics and ba them write to Your Majesty their true opinion of the ability of the Indian The Franciscans wrote to you but I wished to speak to the cardinal [Loays then President of the Council of the Indies[61]] personally. . . . I embarked on vessel bound for Spain with no preparation whatsoever, confident that tl other passengers would help me. Arriving at Seville, I went on foot, beggin to Valladolid, where I visited the cardinal and informed him that Fri Domingo [de Betanzos] knew neither the Indians' language nor their tr nature. I told him of their ability and the right they had to become Christian He replied that I was much deceived, for he understood that the Indians we no more than parrots, and he believed that Friar Domingo spoke wi prophetic spirit and, for himself, would follow that friar's opinion. Wh Dr. Bernal Lugo [a member of the Council of the Indies] asked me what ha happened at my interview with the cardinal I told him and added that I w determined to go to the Pope concerning this evil which so endangered tl Christianity of the Emperor and the many souls in the Indies; that a mor cruel judgement had been rendered against them than against the ancie Hebrews, and that, although merely a poor friar, I should not fear to oppose cardinal on this matter if I could only get a letter of introduction to H Holiness from the Empress.[62] I will arrange this for you, said Dr. Bernal Lug

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old world also had tender consciences, for Sepúlveda states that many of the Spaniar who participated in the sack of Rome included in their wills the provision that tl goods they had stolen from Roman citizens should be restored. [Bol. de la Acad. de H Hist., XXI (1892), 309.]

[59] This law permitting slavery was evidently decreed as a result of Friar Tom Ortiz's strong denunciation of Indian character before the Council of the Indies. At lea Francisco López de Gómara so states. [Historia General de las Indias, cap. CCXVIII

[60] In the light of this statement concerning Betanzos, the recent declaration by A berto María Carreño that 'Betanzos was responsible for the issuance of Paul III's bu by the mediation of his special envoy Minaya' must be rejected. [Fr. Domingo d Betanzos, Fundadór en la Nueva España de la Venerable Orden Dominicana (Mexic 1924–1934), p. 155.]

[61] Loaysa occupied the presidency during the periods 1524–1528 and 1536–1537 [Antonio de León Pinelo, Tablas Cronológicas de los Reales Consejos Supremo y de l Cámara de las Indias Occidentales (2d ed., Madrid, 1892), pp. 2–3.]

[62] It may be that Minaya was the person who froze the blood of Vitoria with tales o Spanish cruelty in the Indies, for Vitoria said that he was informed by one who was i Peru at the time of the first battle with Atahualpa. [Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Idea del Maestro Fray Francisco de Vitoria anteriores a las Relecciones 'De Indis' acerca d la colonización de América, segun Documentos Inéditos, Anuario de la Asociació Francisco de Vitoria, II (1931), 10.]

n I went on foot to Rome with my letter of introduction, which I preserve his day.

warm letter of introduction from the Empress to the nish Ambassador in Rome, dated October 5, 1536,[63] enabled naya to win the ear of Paul III, who was evidently convinced the fiery Dominican's tales. Later Minaya thought he had n the Emperor's approval as well.[64] Then, much to his sur- se, he was imprisoned for two years by the general of the minican order and on being released was set to work preach- to prisoners in Valladolid. Thus were his labors for the erican Indians requited![65]

[3] Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Estudios Teresianos, La Ciencia Tomista, tomo II (1930), 174.

[4] Minaya may have hurried back to Spain to secure this royal approval or he may e waited until the Emperor arrived in Genoa on June 22, 1538. [Manuel de Foronda guilera, Estancias y Viajes del Emperador Carlos V (Madrid, 1914), p. 453.] It is cult to believe, however, that Minaya ever obtained the Emperor's approval.

[5] The hard treatment meted out to Minaya did not prevent other ecclesiastics from ing aid in Rome for the Indians. Juan Valle, first bishop of Popayán, was on his to Rome to inform the pope on Indian affairs when death overtook him. [D. I. I., V, pp. 493-496.] Las Casas shipped to Pius V one of his own legal compositions in ch he showed why the pope ought to excommunicate and anathematize any one de- ing war against infidels to be just. [J. García Icazbalceta, Colección de Documentos ditos para la Historia de México, II (Mexico, 1866), 599–600.] The Franciscan nso Maldonado, considered by some the spiritual descendant of Las Casas, likewise lied to Pius V for aid in protecting the Indians. When his superiors learned that he sent a volume of suggested reforms for the Indies to the pope, the Franciscans in- ned the Council of the Indies, denounced his conduct, and imprisoned him. Mal- ado escaped from the convent where his superiors had shut him up, fled to Portugal, ained credentials from Cardinal Crivelli, and in due time presented himself in Rome. e Spanish ambassador immediately bestirred himself and apparently sent both ldonado and his literary labors back to Spain. [Luciano Ildefonso Serrano y Pineda, respondencia Diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el Pontificado de io V, IV (Rome, 1914), lxii–lxiii.] The result was that the pope instructed his nuncio Madrid to remind the king that 'the Spanish kings had been granted the right to quer the lands beyond the seas on condition that they planted the Christian faith re . . . that Indians were not slaves and could not be oppressed by heavy taxation that wars against them must not be lightly undertaken and must never be carried in a cruel way.' [Ibid., vol. II, pp. 472–473; Pastor, vol. XVIII, pp. 330–332.] ilip II clearly showed that he did not approve the discussion by Rome of reforms for Indies, [Luciano Ildefonso Serrano y Pineda, Índice analítico de los Documentos del lo XVI del Archivo de la Embajada de España cerca de la Santa Sede (Rome, 15), p. 16] and in 1593 made a great stir over a memorial which the Archbishop of na, Toribio de Mogrovejo, was supposed to have sent to the pope. [Eliás Lizana , ed., Documentos históricos del Archivo del Arzobispado de Santiago, II (Santiago, 20), 229–258.] Over a century later Capuchins appealed to the papacy on behalf of the lians. [Joseph Schmidlin, Catholic Mission History, Matthias Braun, ed., p. 503.]

Information now available explains the strange treatme accorded him. Minaya went to Rome with the full knowled and approval of the king, as letters to the Spanish ambassad at the Vatican and to the general of the Dominican ord attest.[65] The trouble arose when Minaya sent copies of the bul and brief from Rome to the Indies without submitting the first to the Council of the Indies for its approval. Minaya failure to fulfill these conditions thoroughly aroused the a tagonism of the king and the council.

Charles was evidently agitated when he realized the im portance of Minaya's independent negotiations with the p pacy, and on January 14, 1538, the Council of the Indi instructed the general of the Dominican order to submit the papal decisions to the council for examination. The general wa also ordered to command Minaya to send all future briefs an bulls to the council before allowing them to go to the Indie Minaya was to have no further direct communication with th pope on Indian questions.[67] The Emperor showed his person interest in the case by despatching an order that Minaya h kept in Spain and not allowed to return to the Indies.[68] He als wrote to the viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, o September 10, 1538, informing him of Minaya's illegal action and ordering all copies of the bulls and brief collected an shipped to the Council of the Indies.[69] The royal order issued o September 6, 1538, which was to serve as a standard la throughout the colonial period, contains a definitive assertio of all of the above-mentioned royal prerogatives and deserves t be quoted in full as it stood in the great law book of the Indie the Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias:

Si algunas Bulas, ó Breves se llevaren a nuestras Indias, que toquen en gobernación de aquellas Provincias, Patronazgo y jurisdicción Real, materi

[66] A. de I., Indiferente General 422, lib. 17, pp. 54–56.

[67] Ibid., Indiferente General 423, lib. 18, pp. 57–58, 67–68.

[68] Ibid., Indiferente General 423, lib. 18, p. 72. Friar Alonso Fernández states an early seventeenth century history of San Esteban, the monastery to which Mina belonged, that Minaya returned to Mexico after securing the bulls. [Historiadores Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca, Justo Cuervo, ed., I (Salamanca, 1914), 7 If Minaya did return, he must have done so secretly.

[69] Mariano Cuevas, Historia de la Iglesia en México, I (Mexico, 1922), 227–228.

Indulgencias, Sede vacantes ó espolios, y otras qualesquier, de qualquier dad que sean, si no constare que han sido presentados en nuestro Consejo las Indias, y pasados por él: Mandamos á los Vireyes, Presidentes y dores de las Reales Audiencias, que los recojan todos originalmente de poder qualesquier personas que los tuvieren, y habiendo suplicado de ellos para e Su Santidad, que esta calidad ha de preceder, nos los envíen en la pri- ra ocasión al dicho nuestro Consejo; y si vistos en él, fueren tales que se an executar, sean executados; y teniendo inconveniente, que obligue á pender su execución, se suplique de ellos para ante nuestro muy Santo dre, que siendo mejor informado, los mande revocar; y entre tanto provea Consejo que no se executen, ni se use de ellos.[70]

That Spanish monarchs did not relax their grip on this im- rtant weapon and that the royal prerogatives were later in- ked may be seen from a royal order of October 13, 1657, now the archive of the Franciscan monastery of Quito, which ects the Franciscans not to obey papal briefs and patents un- s they have first been approved by the Council of the Indies.[71]

To make the matter unmistakably clear to all, the Emperor d prevailed upon the pope to issue another brief on June 19, 38, which revoked 'all other briefs or bulls issued before in ejudice of the power of the Emperor Charles V as King of ain and which might disturb the good government of the dies.'[72] At least this was the sense of the brief as understood the Spaniards.[73] The actual document did not read exactly that way, but as follows:

PAULUS PAPA III

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Non indecens videtur si romanus pontifex, qui specula constitutus existit, quae aliquando ab eo, variis negotiis implicito, alicuius praeiudicium per circumventionem extorquentur, revocet, corrigat mutet, et alia faciat prout in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Sane issimus in Christo filius noster Carolus Romanorum imperator semper gustus ac Hispaniarum catholicus rex nobis nuper exponi fecit quasdam a bis in forma brevis litteras extortas fuisse, per quas Indiarum occidentalium

[70] Lib. I, tit. IX, ley ii.

[71] Libro Becerro Núm. i, p. 30 vuelto, Archivo del Convento Franciscano de Quito, uador.

[72] A. de I., Patronato 1, ramo 51.

[73] According to the official Spanish translation in the Archivo General de Indias, the ef revoked 'qualesquiera otros que haya dado antes en perjuicio de la facultad del nperador Carlos Quinto como Rey de España, y en perturbación del buen gobierno de Indias.' [Patronato 1, ramo 51.] A similar interpretation is to be found in D. I. U., l. XVIII, p. 55.

ac meridionalium insularum prosper et felix status ac regimen interturba[ntu
maiestatique suae et eius subditis valde praeiudicatur. Quare nobis humili
supplicavit ut in praemissis opportune providere de benignitate apostoli
dignaremur. Nos igitur quorum mentis nunquam fuit alicui praeiudica
attendentes ex ipsius Caroli imperatoris industria Christianam religionem n
parum in partibus illis auctam fuisse volentesque omnia obstacula tollere p
quae tam sanctum opus impediri possit, ipsius Caroli imperatoris et regis
hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, litteras praedictas, quarum tenor
continentias et formas ac si praesentibus de verbo ad verbum insererent
pro expressis haberi volumus et in eis contenta quaecumque auctorita
apostolica per easdem praesentes cassamus, irritamus et annullamus ac p
cassis, irritis et nullis haberi volumus; decernentes processus quos per qu
cumque iudices dictarum litterarum vigore futurum haberi, agitari et prom
gari contigerit, etiamsi de censuris agatur, ac quaecumque pro tempore in
secuta, nulla et irrita nulliusque roboris vel momenti. Sicque per quoscumq
iudices et commissarios etiam s[anctae] R[omanae] e[cclesiae] cardinales a
sacri palatii apostolici causarum auditores, sublata eis et eorum cuilibet alit
iudicandi et interpretandi facultate, iudicari, sententiari et diffiniri debere
irritum et inane, si secus super his a quoque quavis auctoritate scienter v
ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Quodque praesentibus litteris manu a
cuius publici notarii subscriptis et sigillo alicuius praelati seu personae
dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides in iudicio
extra illud adhibeatur quae originalibus adhiberetur si essent exhibitae v
ostensae, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostoli
caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Dati in domo Sanctae Crucis ext
muros Nicienses sub annulo piscatoris, die XIX Iunii MDXXXVIII, pon
ficatus nostri anno quarto.[74]

Fabius Vigil[ius] [75]

Of course when Paul III declared in this brief that, at the re
quest of the Emperor and in order that the preaching of th
faith might not be impeded, he definitely annulled (*cassamu
irritamus et annullamus*) those letters in the form of a bri
which had been extorted (*extortas*) from him and which migh
disturb the peaceful and happy state of the new world and th
Emperor's rule there, the pope did not thereby declare th
Indians incapable of receiving the faith. No pope could hav
made such a decision so contrary to canon law and the practic
of the Catholic church. But when Paul III declared in the bri
that the ecclesiastical penalties (*censuris*) were null and voi
he thereby withdrew from the ecclesiastics in the Indies
powerful weapon which they might have used to good effect i

[74] A. de I., Patronato I, ramo 39. The original minute of this brief is to be found i
the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, arm. 41, t. 10, fol. 246, no. 543.

[75] Fabio Vigili, the Bishop of Spoleto, an official in the papal chancery.

ir attempts to protect the Indians from the rapacity of the
quistadores.

At first sight this brief would not seem to refer to the bulls
blimis Deus and Veritas Ipsa, for only 'letters in the form of a
ef' (*in forma brevis litteras*) are mentioned. The only brief
own to have been issued by Paul III concerning the Indians
s the letter Pastorale Officium to Cardinal Tavera of Toledo,
ich is in the form of a brief. This letter, dated May 29, 1537,
ceded the bull Sublimis Deus by only a few days [76] and prob-
ly was one of the letters 'extorted' from the pope by Minaya.
is strongly worded instruction provides that

n though the Indians are not in the bosom of the church, they may not be
rived of their liberty or their possessions . . . being men and as such
able of receiving the faith and of salvation. They ought not to be de-
yed by slavery but rather attracted to the Christian life by preaching and
d example.[77]

In order to enforce this decree, Paul empowered Cardinal
vera to prohibit, either himself or by means of other ministers
the Indies, the enslaving of the Indians under pain of ex-
mmunication (*sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena*),
d the strongest measures were to be used if anyone disobeyed.
was this letter that Friar Minaya brought to Tavera and
ich Minaya thought 'was all that was necessary.' [78]

As stated above, the bulls Sublimis Deus and Veritas Ipsa are
t mentioned in the brief of revocation. But the Emperor
ems to have understood that the brief revoked bulls as well as
iefs because in the royal order sent to Antonio de Mendoza,
ceroy of New Spain, dated September 10, 1538, he stated
at,

ving been informed that one Friar Bernadino de Minaya of the order of
Dominic, moved by a worthy zeal, had importuned our Holy Father to
ue certain bulls and briefs concerning the natives of those regions and con-
rning their instructions and liberty and way of life, in derogation of our
yal preeminence which we have maintained with such care and vigilance,
therefore ordered the original bulls and briefs to be seized and informed

[76] The Latin version of the bull is dated June 9, 1537, while the printed Spanish
sions are dated June 2.
[77] Hernáez, vol. I, pp. 101–102.
[78] See Appendix II, p. 102.

His Holiness of the matter that he might revoke each and every bull and brie (*todos y cualesquier bulas y breves*) that the said Friar Bernadino de Minaya had secured. And His Holiness thus provided it as you will see by the copy o the brief which I am sending to you.

And because I am informed that the said Friar Bernadino deMinaya hac made many copies of those bulls and briefs before the originals were seize and had them sent to many places, it may be that some of these copies have come to your territory. Inasmuch as these copies would produce scandals I hereby order you to ascertain at once whether there is any copy of the sai bulls and briefs in New Spain. If such there be, you are to seize them and send them immediately to our Council of the Indies.[79]

If Paul III did not revoke the bulls Sublimis Deus and Veritas Ipsa — and no evidence has yet come to light to show that he did, despite the royal order quoted above — why did he revoke only 'letters in the form of a brief'? [80] The bulls and the brief Pastorale Officium all declare the Indians capable of receiving the faith and denounce those who enslave them or despoil them of their goods. In the Pastorale Officium Paul III even states that he took this action after he had been shown an order promulgated by the Emperor Charles forbidding Spaniards to enslave the Indians or despoil them of their property.[81] And it was this 'brief in the form of a letter,' in which the pope seems to be merely ratifying the Emperor's previous action, which appears to have been revoked!

Probably the reason for the Emperor's dissatisfaction with the brief was that it provided for drastic ecclesiastical penalties for those who disobeyed. Charles was just as eager as the pope was to protect the Indians but when Paul III stated in the letter to Cardinal Tavera,

Nos talium impiorum tam nefarios ausus reprimere, et ne injuriis, et damnis exasperati, ad Christi Fidem amplectendam duriores efficiantur, providere cupientes, circumspectioni tuae, de cujus rectitudine, providentia, pietate, et

[79] Mariano Cuevas, Historia de la Iglesia en México, vol. I, p. 228. Cuevas dates this order 1528, a manifest error. The true date is given in D. I. U., X, 440–441.

[80] Of course it is possible that these 'letters in the form of a brief' may have been hastily made copies of the various papal pronouncements which Minaya wished to send to the Indies at once. Such things had happened before in the history of the papacy. The dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII with his brother's widow, for example, was drawn up first in great haste and secretly transmitted to Spain as a brief while it was afterwards more publicly expedited as a bull. [James Hastings, ed., Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. II, p. 895.]

[81] Hernáez, vol. I, p. 101.

perientia in his, et aliis specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, per esentes committimus et mandamus, quatenus per te vel alium seu alios efatis Indis omnibus in praemissis efficacis defensionis praesidio assistens, versis et singulis cujuscumque dignitatis, status, conditionis, gradus, et ellentiae existentibus sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena, si us fecerint, ipso facto incurrenda, a qua non nisi a Nobis vel Romano ntifice pro tempore existente, praeterquam in mortis articulo constituti et isfactione praevia, absolvi nequeant, districtius inhibeas, ne praefatos dos quomodolibet in servitutem redigere, aut eos bonis suis spoliare, quoquo do praesumant, ac contra non parentes ad declarationem incursus ex-mmunicationis hujusmodi ad ulteriora procedas, et alia in praemissis et ca ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna statuas, ordines et disponas, out prudentiae, probitati et religioni tuae videbitur expedire,[82]

e was thereby, according to the Emperor's understanding of s *patronato* powers, interfering in royal administration of ndian affairs. Whether the pope promised Charles that he ould revoke the bulls as well as the brief remains for future storians to discover. According to our present evidence, Paul ver withdrew the bulls in which the official Christian doctrine the spiritual equality of all men was reaffirmed, but he did voke the 'letters in the form of a brief' which provided for the nforcement of the doctrine in America by the threat of severe clesiastical penalties.

The significance of Paul III's reversal on this important atter has not yet been fully perceived by historians. Juan autista Muñoz, the eighteenth century Spaniard who collected magnificent mass of notes for a history of the Indies, knew of ne nullification [83] but never completed his great work beyond ne year 1500, and recently the Puerto Rican historian Caye-no Coll y Teste has published an article in which he recog-izes that Paul III 'took away with one hand what he gave with ne other.'[84] But for the most part, in ecclesiastical and secular istories alike, Paul III is wrongly acclaimed as the great friend nd protector of the American Indian.

[82] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 101–102.

[83] D. I. I., vol. VII, p. 414.

[84] El repartimiento de los Indígenas entre los Españoles, Boletín histórico de uerto Rico, año IX (1922), 284.

VI

The significant brief of June 19, 1538, and the circumstance which led Paul III to reverse his original policy of protecting th American Indians must be studied in the light of the existin political situation in Europe. Ten days after Paul had issue the bull, he requested aid from Charles in fighting the infid Turks.[85] During the whole of this year June 1537–June 153 Paul was eager to ensure Charles's support for the church coun cil which was planned to be held in Vicenza. And finally Paul in his strong desire to avoid taking sides between France an Spain at a time when religious troubles in Germany demande united action, was struggling to keep the peace betwee Francis I and Charles V.[86] When Charles made known to hi his dissatisfaction with the papal pronouncements concernin the Indians, Paul was willing to go far in bowing to Charles will in the Indies if he could thereby save the papal policy i Europe and could strengthen at the same time the position o his beloved Farnese family in Italy.

Rarely did Paul III definitely commit himself on any policy a habit which made life difficult for ambassadors at his court,[87] but when Charles wished the offending brief annulled, Pau complied at once. The pope may have learned from his as trologers [88] that the moment was propitious, but the fact that o June 18, 1538, Charles and Francis affixed their signatures to th peace so earnestly desired and carefully negotiated by the pop probably more adequately explains the brief of annulment which was issued the next day. The Emperor's natural daughte Margaret was again brought forth to seal the negotiations, and — her first husband, Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, having been assassinated in the previous year — arrangements

[85] Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle, Ch. Weiss, ed., II (Paris, 1841), 515–516.

[86] Pastor, vol. XI, pp. 118–119.

[87] Ranke, The Popes of Rome, I (4th ed., London, 1866), 165. Sarah Austin, trans.

[88] Paul was 'addicted to consulting astrologers as to the propitious hour before enter ing on any transactions of importance, consistories, audiences, journeys, and so forth.' [Pastor, vol. XI, pp. 38–39.]

ere made to marry this able and independent woman to the ope's grandson Ottavio Farnese, an arrangement which proved o be no more satisfactory or binding than the treaty between rance and Spain which it was designed to cement. But during ne month of June 1538 the three rulers, Francis, Charles, and aul, enjoyed a period of peace and diplomatic friendship on he sunny coast of southern France, for all the negotiations described above took place at Nice. The acceptance of the truce y Francis and Charles gave Paul almost as much pleasure as ad his elevation to the pontificate, if we are to believe one observer.[89] As a final mark of favor Paul bestowed on Charles the *cruzada* for five years together with other church revenues in Spain, estimated to be worth in all two million ducats.[90]

The whole story of the diplomatic negotiations in Rome which ollowed Minaya's successful attempt to secure papal support or his own optimistic view of the capacity of the Indians unistakably shows the jealousy of Charles V for his ecclesiastical ower in the new world. Indeed, even in spiritual matters the Emperor did not consult the pope during the years immediately ollowing his outburst against Minaya. For when Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Augustinian friar Juan de Oseguera brought efore the Council of the Indies the problem of Indian baptism, he Emperor turned for guidance in this crucial spiritual matter ot to the Holy See but to a Spanish theologian, Francisco de Vitoria.[91] If Paul III was trying to see whether papal power could be increased in the new world, the Emperor's activity in

[89] Tiepolo, as quoted by Giuseppe de Leva, Storia Documentata di Carlo V in Correlazione all' Italia, III (Venice, 1867), 241.

[90] Pastor, vol. XI, p. 291. The most recent writer on the subject is Peter Rassow, Die Kaiser-Idee Karls V. dargestellt an der Politik der Jahre 1528–1540 (Berlin, 1932), pp. 357 ff.

[91] See D. I. I., vol. XIV, p. 42, for the letter to Vitoria dated January 31, 1539. On March 31, 1541, the Council again requested Vitoria's opinion as a result of Las Casas' questions. [A. de I., Indiferente General 423, lib. 19, pp. 228–229.] The reply is dated, July 1, 1541, and is printed in D. I. I., vol. III, pp. 549 ff.

Baptismal problems became burning issues in most mission fields. The Jesuits and Recollects debated the matter in Canada, and in the East Indies too disputes arose. [Pastor, vol. XIII, p. 308.] Likewise in the south before the Civil War the exact influence of baptism on a slave's status became a grave issue and was much discussed by clergy and laity alike. [William Sumner Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South, pp. 18–21.]

the Minaya case was a decisive answer and a distinct warning that the pope was henceforth to keep his hands off. It is clear that Charles did not have the brief annulled because of any feeling of unfriendliness toward the Indians (inasmuch as he himself affirmed four years later in the New Laws this same doctrine that the Indians were free men and must be treated as such) but rather because he desired to insist on his prerogatives.

Considering the importance of the matter, it is curious that the legal nullification of the brief Pastorale Officium apparently never became widely known in the sixteenth century. Las Casas treasured the bull Sublimis Deus as one of his choicest weapons in the battery of arguments and authorities which he kept constantly trained on the enemy with the merciless zeal often manifested by devoted humanitarians. According to Remesal, Las Casas translated the bull and sent copies to many parts of the Indies that the ecclesiastics might notify Spaniards of the pope's decisions.[92] Las Casas personally distributed many copies, for as one contemporary complained:

> He has twenty-seven or thirty-seven Indian carriers with him — I do not remember the exact number — and the greatest part of what they were carrying was accusations and writings against the Spaniards, and other rubbish.[93]

As a result of the tireless efforts of this skillful propagandist — one of the greatest to appear during the century after the invention of the printing press — the authority of Paul III was probably invoked many times by protectors of the Indians just as Minaya had stoutly opposed Pizarro by citing the Emperor's law against slavery. Later writers, too, used the bull to support their demand for better treatment of the Indians.[94] Subsequent

[92] Antonio de Remesal, Historia de Chiapas y Guatemala (Madrid, 1619), lib. III, cap. XVIII.

[93] Toribio de Motolinia made this statement in his famous memorial to the Emperor against Las Casas dated Jan. 2, 1555. [D. I. I., VII, 263.] Apparently Las Casas never learned that the brief had been annulled, according to one account of his last years. [Biblioteca de Autores Españolas, vol. LXV, p. 197.] This is in itself striking proof of how unknown remained the revocation, for many Spaniards would have been eager to embarrass Las Casas by citing it.

[94] Such as Friar Gaspar de Recarte in his 'Tratado del Servicio Personal y Repartimiento de los Indios de Nueva España, 1584,' [Mariano Cuevas, Documentos Inéditos del Siglo XVI para la Historia de Mexico, p. 356]. On May 5, 1621, Dominicans writing to the king from Concepción stated that they believed the bull gave the king 'potestad imperial' over converted Indians. [A. de I., Chile 65.]

popes such as Urban VIII (1639), Benedict XIV (1741), and Gregory XVI (1839) reaffirmed Paul's 1537 bull without referring to the annulment of the brief which would have made the bull a more potent weapon in the hands of the protectors of the Indians.[95]

Of course the bull alone was worth something but its practical influence — great as it was — must not be exaggerated. As Ludwig Pastor has stated:

> If this put an end to uncertainty of opinion by the declaration of a fixed rule of action, a long time had yet to elapse before any substantial success was secured. Even in Rome the Pope was unable at once to carry out effectually his efforts against slavery, and the position of captive unbelievers in Italy still continued to be one of bondage.[96]

The bull did not stamp out the idea that Indians were inferior beings unable to appreciate the full benefits of Christianity. Tomás López found so many persons in Spain spreading the doctrine that the gospel could not be preached to the Indians that he composed an 'Apologia, o sermon defensorio' combating 'these false ideas which surely the Devil himself must have stirred up.'[97] As Joseph Schmidlin points out in his standard work on mission theory:

> The fact that all natives were both in theory and practice excluded from the priesthood in the Spanish colonies during the first century of their Christianization must be attributed primarily to the racial prejudice of the whites.[98]

And if the records are to be believed, two Indian chieftains of New Granada admitted their bestiality according to a memorial sent to the pope dated December 23, 1553. Two Dominicans were apparently responsible for their sending a plea to the pope, in the name of Mexican Indians as well, in which the chieftain declared that

> by chance Your Holiness has been told that we are bestial, you are to understand that this is true inasmuch as we follow devilish rites and ceremonies.[99]

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[95] J. Margraf, Kirche und Sklaverei seit der Entdeckung Amerikas (Tübingen, 1865), p. 218–230.

[96] Vol. XII, p. 520.

[97] Muñoz Collection, Academia de la Historia, Madrid, vol. 42, fol. 267.

[98] Catholic Mission Theory, Matthias Braun, ed., p. 318.

[99] Mariano Cuevas published this interesting letter as an appendix to his article Los primeros Panamericanistos, Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle, III (Rome, 1924), 334–342.

And whatever may have been decided across the seas in Rome some ecclesiastics in the Indies steadfastly refused to administer the Eucharist to the Indians, alleging their incapacity, for more than a century after Paul III proclaimed Sublimis Deus.[100]

It is worthy of note that the Dominican Domingo de Betanzos whose opinion that the Indians were animals had been widely accepted in the decade before 1538 and had so influenced Cardinal Loaysa, President of the Council of the Indies when Minaya arrived in Spain, retracted this opinion on his deathbed. In a deposition made in Valladolid on September 13, 1549 which was recently discovered in a Bolivian monastery, Betanzos repudiated the memorial he had laid before the Council of the Indies and his other statements in which he had declared that Indians were animals.[101] His Dominican brothers were eager, too, to make sure that his retraction was made public and saw to it that the Council of the Indies was officially informed of the deathbed retraction — an indication of the importance of the issue.

VII

In conclusion, it would seem that the history of the whole controversy concerning Paul III and the American Indians becomes the story of the successful vindication by Charles V of his ecclesiastical privileges in the new world, and it should be emphasized that when Charles V prevailed upon Paul III to issue the brief of revocation, he was not moved by any unfriendly attitude toward the American Indians for, as was noted above, he shortly afterward issued the famous New Laws in 1542 designed to advance their interests. Nor did Charles wish to hinder the attempts of ecclesiastics to protect the Indians, for in 1546 he requested the pope to issue a brief authorizing all ecclesiastics to give information, without thereby incurring any irregularity, concerning all cases of ill treatment of the natives.[102] Charles obtained the brief of revocation for the same reason that the Council of the Indies had refused in 1532 to approve the bull

[100] Felix de Azara, Viajes por la América Meridional, Francisco de las Barras de Aragón, ed., II (Madrid, 1923), 108–109.

[101] A transcription of this deposition is given as Appendix I.

[102] Antonio de Herrera, Historia General, Dec. VIII, lib. 1, cap. 8.

which Clement VII had granted to Cortez perpetual patron-
of hospitals founded in his name; i.e., because the bull
judiced the *patronato*.[103] The Emperor Charles V, in short,
s determined to maintain all of those valuable privileges in-
ded in the *patronato* which Ribadeneyra described as 'la
dra más rica, la más preciosa de su real diadema.'[104] But even
ough Charles did succeed in having the 'letters in the form of
rief' legally nullified soon after their promulgation in 1537,
t the bull Sublimis Deus lived on as a force to be reckoned
th in the endless disputes over the true nature of the American
dians because the nullification was not widely known. The
ttle which the Bishop Garcés of Tlaxcala and an obscure,
ndering friar waged to save the souls and bodies of the
nerican Indians was not fought wholly in vain.

APPENDIX I

Friar Domingo de Betanzos, O.P., Retracts His Opinion that the Indians are Animals

Valladolid, Sept. 13, 1549

En la muy noble villa de Valladolid a trece días del mes de Setiembre del año
Señor de mil y quinientos y cuarenta y nueve años ante mi, Antonio de
nseco escribano de Sus Majestades, estando en el monasterio de Señor
n Pablo desta dicha villa de la orden de Señor Santo Domingo de los
dicadores y en un aposento de la dicha casa y monasterio donde estaba un
mbre viejo, rapada la barba y corona y echado en la cama y a lo que parezca
ermo, pero en su buen seso, que se dijo y llamó Fray Domingo de Betanzos
lijo y entregó a mí el dicho escribano un pliego de papel que él me dijo de él
á escrito y declarado ciertas cosas que tocaban a su conciencia y descargo
e señaladamente tocaban a las cosas de Indias el cual dicho escrito y de-
ración que así me dijo y entregó; estaba firmado de una firma que decía
ay Domingo de Betanzos y de otras cuatro demás que dicen Fray Didacus
iz, prior; Fray Petrus de Belón, Fray Antonio de la Madalena, Fray
cente de Las Casas, como presentes; parece su tenor del cual es éste que se
ue.

Digo yo Fray Domingo de Betanzos, fraile de Santo Domingo que porque
muchas veces he hablado en cosas que tocaban a los indios diciendo algunos
fectos de ellos y deje en el consejo de las Indias de Su Majestad escrito y
mado de mi nombre un memorial el cual trata de los dichos defectos diciendo
e eran bestias y que tenían pecados y que Dios lo había sentenciado, y que

[103] Diego de Enzinas, Provisiones, Cédulas, etc. I (Madrid, 1596), fol. 83.

[104] Antonio Joachín de Ribadeneyra y Barrientos, Manual Compendio de el Regio tronato Indiano (Madrid, 1755), pp. 3–4.

todos perecerían, de donde podía haber resultado grandes escándalos y hal
tomado ocasión los españoles hacer más males y agravios y muertes a l
dichos indios que por ventura hicieran no sabiéndolo puesto que mi intenci
no fué tal que ellos o algunos pensaron o publicaron sino avisos al conse
para que pusiesen buen gobernación y los remedios que convenían y p
ventura muchos habían hecho a los dichos indios grandes destrucciones
muertes por sus codicias y servían que ver y de excusar y autorizarlas c
muchas · osas que me han levantado que yo dije; y porque yo estoy enfer
y podía ser que Nuestro Señor sea servido llevarme de esta enfermedad
quiero satisfacer lo que al presente puedo por descargo de mi concien
prende por ésta firmada de mi nombre, digo y suplico al dicho consejo real
las Indias y ruego a todos los que estuvieren o oyeren en las Indias o en Espa
o en otra cualquier parte que estuvieren, que ningún crédito den a cosa que
por dicho ni por escrito haya hablado y dicho contra los indios en perjui
porque no me acuerde haber hecho tal, pero si se hallare, digo que soy hom
y pude errar y así creo que erré por no haber sabido su lenguaje o por ot
ignorancia, las cuales según el juicio de Dios y de otros hombres más sabios
entendidos que yo son juzgadas por dañosas y dignas de retratación, y así
retraté, y digo es contrario de verdad ellas y no afirmo ni quiero afirmar co
que según el juicio de Dios no convenga, especialmente siendo en perjuicio
estorbo de la predicación de la fe y contra la utilidad de la salud de aquell
ánimas y cuerpos ni contra cualquier cosa que sea de buenas costumbres. P
manera que todo lo que está mal error (?) o en otra cualquier he dicho
declaro hasta el articulo de la muerte insensible sumeto a la corrección de
santa madre iglesia, en la fe y determinación de la cual pertenezco siempre
vivir y morir. Y digo que quisiera tener salud y me pesa por no poder hac
esta retratación delante todos los consejeros de Indias y delante todo
mundo que fuera necesario y revoco y doy por ningunas todas las propusi
ones que en el parecer que deje en el consejo escrito y firmado de mi numbre
poder del secretario Samano del consejo de Indias así escandalosas m
sonantes, y todo lo que en perjuicio de los dichos indios dije y afirme en aq
memorial o fuera de él contra la salud de aquellas ánimas y cuerpos lo revo
y por signo que es verdad, lo firmo de mi nombre, fecha en San Pablo
Valladolid viernes trece de Setiembre de 1549.[105]

Fray Domingo de Betanços.

Los infrascritos que nos hallamos presentes lo firmamos de nuestros no
bres y damos fe que así pasó estando en su juicio y que es él mismo que firm

Fray Didacus, prior
Fray Petrus de Ulloa
Fray Antonio de la Madalena
Fray Vicente de Las Casas

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[105] This document comes from the library of the Monasterio de San Felipe in Suc
Bolivia and I am indebted to Rev. José Cuellar for permission to use it. I wish to reco
here also my gratitude to Sr. D. Julio Querejazu of Sucre for assistance in obtainin
photostatic copy of the document. See also additional note, p. 101 f.

In order to make the text available to more readers, I have expanded contractio
and modernized the spelling.

APPENDIX II

Letter of Bernadino de Minaya to Philip II[106]

(Cerca 1559?)

Muy Católica Majestad

. . . . . .

Sabrá Vuestra Majestad que, bautizado V.M. en San Pablo de Valladolid. me partí a las Indias de V.M. con siete compañeros religiosos con celo de la versión de aquellas gentes a nuestra santa fe y llegados a México . . . nos rtimos a diversas provincias y a mí cupo el valle de Oaxaca ochenta leguas México donde hice monasterio primero y en la provincia de Anguytan (?) o, y en la provincia de Tehuantepec otro; en las cuales hice congregaciones los hijos de los indios principales de a trescientos a quinientos y destos señados envié a la provincia de Soconusco donde viniendo de hay donde en año alle (alli?) enseñados los indios en muchos pueblos y así fuí trescientos guas hasta la provincia de Nicaragua bautizando, saliéndome a recibir con reoles de rosas, con comida, y las cruces estandartes del rey de la gloria arejadas para que yo las pusiese donde me pareciese, lo cual hacía después enseñados y que ellos de su voluntad quemasen los ídolos y los cues que n sus adoratorios. Así llegado a la ciudad de León que es fundada a la era de la laguna de sesenta leguas de agua dulce que estando dos leguas co más del Mar del Sur, desagua en el mar del norte nuestro océano. Venidas s nuevas del descubrimiento del Perú eché aquí un monasterio donde se señaron muchos indios de los cuales decían el Obispo Osorio y el alcalde cenciado Castañeda que eran incapaces porque decían si el Ave María si a de comer. Me detuve allí predicando a los españoles la cuaresma y a los dios enseñándolos por los indios y compañeros que llevaba y de tal manera e venida la pascua los llevé al obispo y al Alcalde Mayor Castañeda y jeron la doctrina cristiana delante dellos y conocieron que tenían habilidad ra ser cristianos. Y habiéndome de partir al Perú, llamado un barbero nos ngró a todos y a mí el primero de la vena del corazón y con la sangre escribi- os nuestras protestaciones que ibamos a enseñar la fe y morir por ella. Y los dios enseñados y bautizados se querían pasar con nosotros y con lagrimas lo edían. Pasados a la costa del Perú allabamos los pueblos despoblados por onde los españoles habían pasados; y andados algunos días con harta ecesidad alcanzamos al Pizarro y de allí siempre fuí en su compañía con dos mpañeros religiosos y cuatro indios enseñados hasta la isla de Napunal que dice agora de donde nos salieron a recibir con cinquenta balsas con sus velas ndulantes(?)] y remeros cantando y así nos metieron en la isla y aposen- aron trayendo comida. Y después desto otro día piden al principal que undía cierta pieza de vasijas de oro y plata y diese gente para servicio de los spañoles como hacían en todos los pueblos. Y allí querían enviar en los avíos los indios que habían recibido para servicio a vender a Panamá y dellos

[106] Archivo General de Simancas, Sección de Estado, Legajo 892, fols. 197 ff.

traer vino, vinagre, y aceite. Y como yo supiese esto les notifiqué un tras
autorizado por él mandaba Su Majestad el emperador que no pudiesen h
esclavos a los indios aunque ellos fuesen agresores. Y así lo apregonar
cesó el venderlos mas a mí y a los compañeros nos quitaron el mantenimi
sobre lo cual yo dije a Pizarro que viese lo que hacía, que S.M. no lo ten
por bien; mas que pues estabamos cerca del Señor Atabalica me diese
intérprete y iría con mis compañeros a predicarle y si nos matase sería
bien a nosotros y tendría ocasión para hacerles guerra. Mas que Dios h
descubierto aquellas tierras por ganar aquellas ánimas y ésta era el fin
papa y del emperador cristianísimo y que venido el Atabalica en recibir l
todos le seguirían según la gran obediencia de los indios y así sería verda
capitán y lo que ganase sería bien ganado que era razon les diesemos a
tender que veníamos a su provecho que era darles conocimiento de Di
no a robarlos y despoblarlos de sus tierras que por esto eran encomendad
los Reyes Católicos como dice la bula de Alejandro de su concesión. El Piz
respondió que había venido desde México a quitarles su ganancia y qu
quería hacer lo que le pedía y así me despedí de él con mis compañeros aun
él me rogaba que no me fuese, que habría mi parte del oro que habían hal
de los pueblos. Yo le dije que no quería parte de oro tan mal habido ni qu
con mi presencia dar favor a tales robos. Y así me vine a Panamá con h
hambre que el maestre de la nao Quintero no quería darnos cosa diciendo
se había quitado la ganancia de los indios que trajera lleno el navío, mas
socorrió que hizo viento que en ocho días venimos al puerto. Y de allí
brevedad venimos a México donde el Señor quiso traerme a tal tiempo
había venido provisión del Presidente Cardenal de Sevilla Loaysa en
mandaba los capitanes viniesen a los indios esclavos a su voluntad movid
esto por un religioso de Santo Domingo que se llamaba Fray Domingo
Betanzos que afirmó y dijo en el Consejo de Indias que los indios eran
capaces de la fe y que en cinco años se habían de acabar y que aunqu
emperador y papa con todos sus poderes ni la Virgen ni con toda la c
celestial entendiesen en su remedio no eran bastantes porque eran doct
reprobum sensum in consilio sanctissimae trinitatae perpetuo in acta pec
sua. Y venida esta provisión a manos de Don Sebastián Ramírez, obispo
Santo Domingo en la Española y presidente en México juntó a los religi
y les dijo esta provisión es venida y sé que por otras partes la han execut
y se han estado por esclavos más de diez mil, mas yo temo mi concienci
encargo las vuestras escribáis a S.M. lo que sentís destas pobres gentes d
abilidad y cristiandad; y así los de San Francisco escribieron a S.M. mas
pesando informar de la verdad y experiencia al cardenal y ser amparo de ta
mal, vine me al puerto con razón de visitar que era prelado y predicarles e
Vera Cruz y sabido de un navío que estaba para partir a estas partes me e
barqué con un compañero sin provisión alguna a confianza de los pasajeros
lo que nos quisiesen dar; y llegados a Sevilla a pie venimos pidiendo a Val
dolid donde visitado el cardenal le dije como el Fray Domingo no sabía
lengua ni les entendía y le dije de su abilidad y deseo de ser cristianos co
notables y me respondió que yo estaba engañado y que lo que sabían era co
papagayos y que el Fray Domingo hablaba por espíritu profético, y por
parecer se seguía. Y preguntado por el Doctor Bernal Lugo que había pasa
con el Cardenal Loaysa, se lo dije y dije estoy determinado de ir al pa

re tal maldad tan perniciosa a la cristiandad del emperador y de tantas nas como son en aquel mundo, que más cruel sentencia es dada sobre ellos se dió contra los hebreos procurada por Amán contra Mardoqueo que sepa comer herbas. Mas que en me dará crédito contra presidente denal a un pobre fraile si tuviese carta de la emperatriz para su santidad, fiaría de aprovechar algo. Dijo el doctor, yo os la habré y diómela, la cual go hoy día guardada como principio de tanto bién y así con ella fuí a pie a ma y traje los despachos que plugo a Nuestro Señor despachar para desgo de la conciencia imperial y sus sucesores así de libertad de los indios no de la moderación de la iglesia de ellos los cuales puse en manos de S.M. perial y S.M. como cristianísimo mandó executar. Y como traje a Don n de Tavera, cardenal de Toledo por protector de los indios sintiendo a baste todo, el cardenal de Sevilla Loaysa procuró con sus informaciones el provincial me retrujese y así estuve retraído en Triana (?) dos años nde el general me escribió . . . y . . . me llamaron a Valladolid y ennendaron predicase a los presos de la chancillería. Sabrá V.M. que yo he ado diez años en las Indias de V.M. y he visto las tiranías que los españoles en en los indios que a Dios quitan las ánimas y a V.M. los vasallos y la struyen en aquellas tierras . . . y me diga quien es la causa, dije el cardenal Sevilla. . . .

Magister Bernadinus Minaya de Pace

ADDITIONAL NOTE

(Supplement to note 105)

As my friend, Rev. Benno Biermann, O.P., has pointed out to me in a private let-, the importance of this death-bed retraction must not be exaggerated. But even posing that the opinion given above was extracted from the friar by strong pressure, fact that such a retraction was deemed necessary indicates that the point was conered an important one by the Dominicans of San Pablo.

Perhaps the time has not yet arrived to draw up a statement concerning the true inion, or opinions, held by Betanzos throughout his life. He appears to have fluctued and so states in the letter, as yet unpublished in its entirety, written during the ter part of his career (*circa* 1544?) and now in the Archivo Histórico Nacional Iadrid), Cartas de Indias, Caja 2, No. 124. A part of this interesting letter appeared my First Social Experiments in America (Cambridge, 1935), ix. It is certain that tanzos held an unfavorable opinion concerning the ability of the Indians at certain aes, for the records of the proceedings of the Cabildo of Mexico City for June 30, 33 contains the following passage:

Este dia dixieron que por quanto este dia binieron a este cabildo ciertas personas zinos desta cibdad e informaron que por quanto fray domingo de betanzos frayle la orden de santo domingo abia informado, a su magestad y en su consejo de las idias que los yndios naturales destas partes no eran capaces para se gobernar por si gun la costumbre y policia de los españoles e que asi mismo no eran capaces para imimir en ellos la santa fee catolica, los señores presidente e oydores con el parescer de gunos frayles franciscos han escrito a su magestad informandole lo contrario, e orque sobre lo suso dicho es justo informar a su magestad de la berdad pues que tanmporta para la conserbacion desta tierra que abran su acuerdo sobre lo quel dicho eronimo lopez e bezinos desta cibdad an propuesto e haran en todo lo con derecho eben. [Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México, Ignacio Bejarano, ed., III (México, 89), 41.]

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Likewise in 1544 Betanzos, along with other Dominicans in Mexico, opposed training of natives for the clergy, stating

Decimos, pues, que los indios no deben estudiar, porque ningund fruto se espera d estudio; lo primero, porque no son para predicar en largos tiempos, porque para pr car se requiere que el predicador tenga autoridad en el pueblo, y esta no la hay estos naturales, porque verdaderamente son viciosos, más que los populares estos estudian, é no son personas de ninguna gravedad, ni se diferencian de la gente co en el hábito ni en la conversacion; porque de la mesma manera se trata en esto los hombres bajos del pueblo.

Lo segundo, porque no es gente segura, de quien se deba confiar la predicacion Evangelio, por ser nuevos en la fée é no la tener bien arraigada. Lo cual seria ca que dijesen algunos errores, como sabemos por experiencia haberlos dicho algunos.

Lo tercero, porque no tienen habilidad para entender cierta y rectamente las c de la fée ni las razones dellas, ni su lenguaje es tal ni tan copioso que se pueda po explicar sin grandes impropiedades, que fácilmente pueden inducir en grandes erro

Y de aquí se sigue que no deben de ser ordenados, porque en ninguna reputa serian tenidos más que si no lo fuesen. Porque aun el sacramento de la Eucari no se les administra por muchos motivos, que personas muy doctas é religiosas p ello tienen, así por ser nuevos en la fée, como por no entender bien qué cosa sea é c se deba recibir tan alto Sacramento. É porque todas las cosas se ordenan á al fin, quitadas estas razones, porque ellos debian estudiar, como cosa muy neces queda que se les debe quitar el estudio. [D. I. I., vol. VII, pp. 541–542.]

Other documents containing statements by Betanzos concerning Indians may found in D. I. I., vol. VII, pp. 367–431 (1516); ibid., vol. XI, pp. 211–216 (15 ibid., vol. XXXV, pp. 199–240 (1519); Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Colección documentos para la historia de México, II (México, 1866), 549–553 (1526); and ib vol. II, pp. 198–201 (1545). A useful bibliographical and biographical note on Bet zos is in Robert Streit, Bibliotheca Missionum, vol. II, pp.133–134.

THE ROMAN 'VIRTUES'

HAROLD MATTINGLY
British Museum

'Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers'
(Milton)

VENAL in his First Satire (vv. 115, 116) remarks on the curi-
s fact that Pecunia, though so devoutly worshipped, yet has
temple of her own

> ut colitur Pax atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
> quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.

e is not actually like them an object of cult. The modern
ıder, while relishing the bitterness of the gibe, is left vaguely
ndering how the Romans could seriously worship such 'per-
ıifications' as Pax or Fides, and his wonder will only increase,
ıe follows up the subject and traces the cult of the 'Virtues'
literature, in inscriptions and, above all, in the imperial
nage. When we talk of 'personifications,' we feel ourselves
once in the realm of poetic or artistic imagery and fancy; the
cient Roman, when he spoke of similar figures, felt himself in
e realm of religious fact.[1] There is a difference here between
cient and modern thought so profound that, in spite of the
nplicity with which it can be stated, few moderns succeed in
preciating the ancient point of view. They tacitly assume
at it was silly or insincere or quote ancient authors, who stood
art from current popular belief and despised it as much as do
e moderns. But it is always a grave mistake for the student
dismiss polytheistic beliefs in this cavalier way. Insincere
ey certainly were not. Silly we may call them if we will, but

[1] The Romans themselves knew 'personifications' in our modern sense. Cf. Quintil-
, IX, ii, 36, sed formas quoque fingimus saepe, ut Famam Vergilius, ut Voluptatem
Virtutem (quemadmodum a Xenophonte traditur) Prodicus, ut Mortem ac Vitam,
as contendentes in satura tradit Ennius.

they formed the religious stock-in-trade of humanity for c turies; they explain much in antiquity that without them inexplicable, and, more than this, they have exercised an fluence on the thought of the world that endures to this d To return to our own special theme of the 'Virtues,' I am c vinced that a close study of them will not only explain seve curious points in the tradition of early Roman religion but v be an essential aid to the understanding of the Roman impe cult and of the subsequent transition from pagan to Christ thought. To survey the whole field lies beyond my pres power or intention. What I am undertaking is essentially explorative expedition into unfamiliar country. With luck may strike some trails that will be worth following up later

The term, 'Virtues,' is a general and inexact one, but it probably the best name that we can find to cover both the g qualities and the *res expetendae* of Cicero's well-known passag the De Legibus (II, 11, 28), which deserves to be quoted in f

> Bene vero, quod Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides consecratur manu: quar omnium Romae dedicata publice templa sunt, ut, illa qui habeant (hab autem omnes boni), deos ipsos in animis suis collocatos putent. nam il vitiosum Athenis quod, Cylonio scelere expiato, Epimenide Crete suade fecerunt Contumeliae fanum et Impudentiae. virtutes enim, non vitia c secrare decet. araque, quae vetustissima est in Palatio, Febris, et al Esquiliis, Malae Fortunae, detestataque omnia eiusmodi repudianda su quodsi fingenda nomina, Vicae Potae potius [vincendi] atque [potiur Statae . . . [standi] cognominaque Statoris et Invicti Iovis: rerumque ex tendarum nomina, Salutis, Honoris, Opis, Victoriae: quoniamque exspe tione rerum bonarum erigitur animus, recte etiam Spes a Calatino consecr est: Fortunaque sit vel Huiusce diei, nam valet in omnes dies, vel Respicie ad opem ferendam; vel Fors, in quo incerti casus significantur magis, Primigenia a gignendo. . . .

The passage is imperfect and corrupt at one or two points, b the general sense is clear. Good qualities and good gifts m rightly be worshipped, because such worship has an uplifti effect on the worshipper. The worship of virtues teaches m to venerate as it were the gods in their own souls. The analys perhaps, is not very scientific. Ops and Fortuna should strict be excluded as being goddesses in the ordinary use of the ter and the distinction between *virtus* and *res expetenda* is a vanis ing one. Why should Concordia be the one, Spes the othe

ıt the passage is a valuable enough indication of popular lief.

We may complete the picture on which we shall begin work quoting from Pliny the Elder [2] the opposite view to Cicero's.

quapropter effigiem dei formamque quaerere inbecillitatis humanae reor. isquis est deus, si modo est alius, et quacumque in parte, totus est sensus, us visus, totus auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui. innumeros idem credere, atque etiam ex vitiis hominum, ut Pudicitiam, Concordiam, ntem, Spem, Honorem, Clementiam, Fidem, aut (ut Democrito placuit) os omnino, Poenam ac Beneficium, maiorem ad socordiam accedit. fragilis laboriosa mortalitas in partes ista digessit infirmitatis suae memor, ut porıibus coleret quisque quo maxime indigeret. itaque nomina alia aliis gentis et numina in iisdem innumerabilia invenimus, inferis quoque in genera criptis, morbisque et multis etiam pestibus, dum esse placatas trepido metu pimus. ideoque etiam publice Febris fanum in Palatio dicatum est; Orbonae aedem Larum et ara Malae Fortunae Esquiliis. quamobrem maior caelitum pulus etiam quam hominum intellegi potest, cum singuli quoque ex semetsis totidem deos faciant Iunones Geniosque adoptando sibi.

his is an admirable exposition of the case from the point of ew of an honest rationalist, who is not 'having any nonsense' mself and deplores that others should.

We have now to ask, what position do the 'Virtues' hold in e religion of the Roman Republic? Do they belong to the dest stratum? Or only to the Etruscan period? Or, finally, the earlier or later period of borrowing from Greece? The ıswer at first sight appears to be quite definite. They hardly ɔpear in our literary tradition till the third century B.C.; they ɔ not appear on our coins till well within the last century of the epublic. The development of the cult would seem to belong ıtirely to the period of Greek influence, and not to its earliest hase, and would fall aptly into the place assigned to it by Wisowa, 'Vermehrung der Götter durch Spaltung und durch Vertttlichung abstrakter Begriffe.' (Religion und Kultus der Römer [1912], 52 ff.)

There are, however, several considerations that should give s pause. Aulus Gellius, in a passage often quoted (Noctes tticae, XIII, 23, 1–2), writes:

[2] Nat. Hist., II, 14. We may add the witty passage in Lucian's θεῶν ἐκκλησία in hich Momus remarks that 'he has observed with considerable amusement the introducon of various strange names, denoting persons who neither have nor conceivably ould have any existence among us, such as, Virtue, Nature, Destiny and Fortune.'

Conprecationes deum immortalium, quae ritu Romano fiunt, expositae su
in libris sacerdotum populi Romani et in plerisque antiquis orationibus.
his scriptum est: Luam Saturni, Salaciam Neptuni, Horam Quirini, Virit
Quirini, Maiam Volcani, Heriem Iunonis, Moles Martis, Nerienemque Mart

Here we have a series of subsidiary powers dependent, in eac
case, on a major deity. A. von Domaszewski attempted t
prove that they were actually 'Virtues' of their respectiv
deities,[3] while Wissowa preferred to class them simply as anci
lary powers.[4] The character of a 'Virtue' is certain for Neri
probable for Salacia, quite uncertain for the rest. But the di
ference is possibly less than Wissowa supposes, if it lay in th
Roman way of thinking to conceive of the ancillary powers
'Virtues' of their deities. Cicero, in the passage quoted abov
seems to conceive of Vica Pota and Stata as 'Virtues' of Jup
ter, in his two capacities of Victor and Stator, and Wissow
himself is inclined to derive certain of the 'virtues' from majo
deities, notably Fides from Jupiter as Deus Fidius, Liberta
from Jupiter Liber.[5] Victoria and Virtus, too, can stand i
very close relationship to Jupiter. Though there is not suff
cient reason, then, for deriving all 'Virtues' from a major deit
on whom they originally depended, yet the certain example
from later times incline us to suppose that it is the same princ
ple that can be seen at work in the *conprecationes* of Aulu
Gellius. If this is so, the 'Virtues' have their place in a ver
early stratum of Roman religion.

There is another distinct line of thought that leads us toward
a similar conclusion. We are all familiar with the Roman con
ception of *numina*, as adumbrated in our ancient authoritie
and developed by such modern writers as Mommsen an
Usener, — divine powers, not fully realized as in human form
or even as personal at all, but as acts — even momentary act
— of divine will. Such must have been the deities of that earl
period of Roman religion — if indeed it ever existed in its purity
— in which the gods were worshipped without images and di
not marry and were not given in marriage. Now, if we ask

[3] Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion, pp. 104 ff.
[4] Op. cit., p. 22, n. 2.
[5] Op. cit., pp. 52 ff., 327 ff. and further references there.

ere in Roman cult we can find such *numina*, the answer is dy to hand — in the 'Virtues.' Expressed in human form ey may indeed be, but they are always less personal than the eat gods; we have no difficulty in thinking of them as worpped without images. They do not marry and are not given marriage; they have, in fact, no personal relationships of y kind to one another. In the Roman world of thought, ighteousness and Peace have not kissed each other. Honos d Virtus, though obviously a pair like Apollo and Diana, are ver described as brother and sister, offspring of a common other. If, then, we are to take the *numina* seriously as an portant part of the earliest Roman religion, we must at least lmit the likelihood that 'Virtues' or 'powers' were already cluded among them. For the 'Virtues' are precisely what the *mina* should be, deities of pure functional character, and, though we know that it is more philosophical to worship one vine power expressing himself in a number of activities, it is aracteristic of polytheism to make out of each activity a new d.

But, it may be urged, our 'Virtues,' as we know them, are not fficiently primitive for the earliest Roman age. Is there any rious force in this objection? Such a conception as 'saving,' armonizing,' or 'making peace' is admittedly more advanced an that of such purely physical acts as ploughing or sowing; et it might obviously arise without difficulty in any urban comunity, however primitive. Nor have we the right to assume at what we incline to call primitive necessarily precedes, in rder of time, what we incline to call advanced. As far back as ur exact knowledge goes, different strands cross in Roman regious tradition — personal gods, gods of pure function and ivine powers, localized in sacred spear or stone. The separaion of the strands lies behind history.

We can now perhaps cast a little light on a dark corner of arly Roman religion. It has been maintained and denied with qual fervour that the great gods, such as Jupiter himself, were nce worshipped impersonally and without images. We can now uggest that Jupiter, in his full nature, was always, as his name ells us, the 'father,' — as human and personal as one could

wish, — but that he could also be worshipped in his special functions, and that these functions were very readily accepted and worshipped as deities themselves, but as deities of the functional and not fully personal class. The realization of the personality of the god was never as vivid among the Romans as among the Greeks, aided, as they were, by the imaginative genius of their poets and sculptors. But the mere fact that the Romans borrowed so eagerly from their masters should warn us against exaggerating the essential, root differences between the two peoples. There is a passage in a scholiast [6] that attributes to the Greeks precisely what we usually call the Roman belief in *numina*. ἰστέον ὅτι πάντα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἃ δύναμιν ἔχοντα ἐώρων οὐκ ἄνευ ἐπιστασίας θεῶν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖν ἐνόμιζον.

The 'Virtues,' we have noted, were comparatively late to come into prominence in public cult. But precisely the same is true of *Genius*, a conception that certainly lay near the roots of Roman religious belief. Like *Genius*, the 'Virtues' will certainly have been far older in private life and cult than in the cult of the State. The fact yet remains that the clearest records of the oldest Roman religion are of personal gods rather than of *numina*. The 'numinous' conception of the divine was probably old enough, but can no longer be represented as the primitive conception *par excellence*. We must think of it rather as a normal mode of Roman religious thought, which appears in varying forms and with varying degrees of emphasis at different times in Roman history.

Wissowa, in a section of his book entitled *Neugeschaffene Gottheiten* (op. cit., 327 ff.) analyses the list of the 'Virtues' and distinguishes classes among them — ancient deities, minor powers dependent on deities and 'Virtues' proper: Cicero's distinction between 'Virtues' and *res expetendae* seems to him of minor importance. To this valuable chapter we would refer for all details of these cults in Republican times, noting only that the heading *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe* is not happy, as it suggests a false idea to the modern mind and obstructs the full realization of the fact that the 'Virtues' were objects of cult. So too Wissowa's comment (p. 328) — 'die

[6] Scholion to Hesiod, Works and Days, 1 (Moschopulos) [Gaisford, Poetae Min. Gr., 33].

abe, um die man bittet, wird selbst als Gottheit angerufen, da an sicher gehen will und doch nicht weiss, welcher Gott etwa um iese Gnade gebeten sein will' may pass as a sort of explana- on; but did the ancients really think in that sort of way? Vere not Concordia, Pax, Spes and the rest always thought of s agents — divine powers whose function it was to produce hose happy states that we call by the same names? We do not uestion the belief of the Romans in deities named Jupiter, iber and Ceres, because Jupiter could mean 'sky,' Liber 'wine' nd Ceres 'corn.' There is something of the modern idea of acraments in this most intimate association of the divine with ts material sign. But how hard it is to grasp with certainty an bsolete mode of thought! Wissowa, as we have seen, was in- lined to derive the 'Virtues' from major deities in a large num- ber of cases, and there is indeed some sound evidence for this view. But, however that may be, it is beyond doubt that the Virtues' came more and more in time to be limited by being related to particular institutions or persons. The relation of the Virtue' to the State — *Salus Populi Romani*, *Fortuna Populi Romani* — was natural and inevitable. But, in late Republican times, we find a new development — the relation of the 'Virtue' to a living individual, the *Victoria Sullae* or the *Clementia Caesaris*. There may be more than one explanation of this. In part, it may represent the emergence into public life of some- thing long familiar in private, in part the increasing claim made by the great personages of political life to honours once re- served for the state. But there was also direct borrowing from the Greek world. Cicero writes to his brother (Ad Quintum Fratrem, I, 1, 31):

> quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus . . . quid tantis hominum opinionibus . . . debeas, cogi- tabis.

The direction of the borrowing is certain: the cities of Asia will not have learned the practice from Rome.

The growth of the practice in Greece deserves investigation. It was, as we have seen, as natural to the Greek as to the Roman to think of a divine power underlying every observable activity.

Where the activity is manifested through a human being, the divine power will be one of our 'Virtues.' There were particular reasons for the rapid growth of the cult of 'Virtues' in the Hellenistic age. First, the epiphany of Alexander startled the imagination of the world. The next age saw his great successors, bestriding the narrow world like colossi, and overshadowing the lives and thoughts of ordinary men. In might if not in goodness they were indeed gods and as such the world worshipped them. The later generations of rulers made up in virtue or, at least, the claim to it what they lost in power. On the Hellenistic king hung the happiness of millions, and the Roman noble and general stepped directly into the same position of almost limitless responsibility. The Hellenistic age, then, was always disposed to pay divine honours to its great individual leaders, not as a mere matter of court etiquette or political convenience, but as an expression of inward belief. To worship not the men themselves, but the virtues incarnated in them was a procedure both more modest and more philosophic than direct worship. The religious scheme of Euhemerus is the child of the historical development. It was a bold attempt to justify the new worship of men by claiming that it was the actual origin of the established gods of the State: that they had once been men and by their virtues and their benefactions had merited deification after death. Not only Heracles and Dionysos but Zeus himself had trodden this path to heaven. This conception of deity is open to obvious objections, both philosophical and moral: but we shall be seriously in error if we regard it as flippant or superficial. It sprang from deep emotions, stirred by the impact on men of events of shattering magnitude and, once born, it dominated much of pagan thought until its close.

Under the Roman Empire, this aspect of the 'Virtues' overshadows all others. 'Virtues' may still be related to the State — *Pax P. R.*, *Libertas P. R.*, *Salus P. R.* — but they are constantly and inevitably related to the person of its first citizen, the *Princeps*. The facts must be studied in detail in texts, inscriptions and, above all, in coins. What needs emphasis at the outset is the general sense of what they imply. The 'Virtues'

n' the Emperor are not merely a poetic or artistic expression of rosaic facts — of his having assured peace, won a victory or ven a liberality; they are deities, all, in theory, capable of ceiving cult, many of them actually receiving it, deities who side in heaven but find terrestrial expression in the activities f the first Roman. The Emperor is not worshipped directly in is lifetime — that is reserved for after death, but he is wor- nipped indirectly through his *Genius* and his 'Virtues.' In one ense, the 'Virtues' may be regarded as distinct parts or aspects f the one good spirit, the *Genius*, that resides in the Emperor. he Emperor, then, even in life is brought very near to the ivine world. He is not only compared in bold metaphors to the ods and allowed to borrow their attributes; he is actually asso- iated, in this indirect way, with worship. Whatever the laws f Rome might prescribe and whatever the educated classes ight think, to the common people this Emperor must always ave appeared almost more like a god than a man.

This is not nearly as absurd as it may at first appear to the odern mind. The development of the veneration of living en, through worship paid to their *Genius* and their 'Virtues,' epresents a decisive change in religious thought — a definite urning from the god without to the god within. *Caelo tonantem redidimus Iovem*, writes Horace, but at once goes on to proph- sy divine honours for Augustus, when his great deeds shall ave proved his present deity. It was in human life that the agan was beginning to look for the revelation of his god, and vith perfect justice, according to his basic conceptions. Every- vhere in the world you see the action of forces, which cannot be urely material and must therefore be the expression of some ivine power. Once cease to separate the life of man from the vorld as a whole and you must admit the same of him. Man, ike the whole world, must be full of gods.

Most prominent among the 'Virtues' of the Emperor are Victoria and Virtus, both of them closely associated with Jupiter nd therefore especially applicable to his vice-gerent on earth. They were so vital to the well-being of the Empire that men lung to them, even while the world of the Olympians was crum- ling to decay. Domitian on his senatorial coinage, has a

prominent place for the goddess, Virtus.[7] Consider in connection with this the lines of Statius (Thebais, X, 632 ff.), where he describes how Virtus inspired Menoeceus to a hero's death:

> Diva Iovis solio iuxta comes, unde per orbem
> rara dari, terrisque solet contingere, Virtus,
> seu pater omnipotens tribuit, sive ipsa capaces
> elegit penetrare viros, caelestibus ut nunc
> desiluit gavisa plagis.

The divine powers wait to find expression in human souls capable of receiving them. Domitian, of course, has the two-fold qualification, — the direct gift from Jupiter and his own native capacity. There is an equally instructive passage in the Passion of Saint Ignatius (*Ruinart*, Acta Martyrum, [as reprinted at Ratisbon, 1859], p. 63). Ignatius, we remember, speaks (ad Eph. 9, 2) of Christians as *θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι* and is here represented as regarding himself as *θεοφόρος* — one who bore in his soul the spirit of his divine Master. Trajan interrogated him closely on the subject and then asked him *ἡμεῖς οὖν σοι δοκοῦμεν κατὰ νοῦν μὴ ἔχειν θεούς, οἷς καὶ χρώμεθα συμμάχοις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους*. He was thinking, of course, not so much of Jupiter or Mars, as of *Victoria Augusti* and *Virtus Augusti*. One would like to believe that the conversation might have taken place actually as recorded. It reminds us of George Fox before Cromwell, speaking to him of the Inner Light, and receiving the answer that that of which he spoke was a natural light.

Actually, the Imperial 'Virtues' served on the coinage to indicate the policy and ideals of each Emperor in turn: coeval with the Empire, they begin to appear prominently from about the time of Vespasian and only begin to decline under Diocletian. By them is built up in each generation the picture of the ideal Emperor, the saviour and servant of humanity, who by his noble deeds is meriting immortality. It is the scheme of Euhemerus that is here triumphant: just as Jupiter in the most distant past, as Hercules and Liber in later times, so the Emperor is led by the 'Virtues' heavenwards along the path of

[7] H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, II, p. xci.

rvice. Even Pliny the Elder, who declared that 'for man to lp man is god,' could hardly close this road.

Listen to the passage in which Velleius Paterculus (II, 103) cords the public rejoicings, when Tiberius was recalled by igustus to Rome and received the tribunician power:

Laetitiam illius diei concursumque civitatis et vota paene inserentium elo manus spemque conceptam perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus. . . . Tum ulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum, dominis patrionii, omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis, adeo ut nec is sperari potuerit nec spei responderi felicius.

his is prose, if prose with a distinct tinge of poetry. But transte it into the religious language of the coins — for the blessgs desired put the deities efficient in causing them, and we all arrive at a series of coin-types, such as *Laetitia publica*, *ota publica*, *Spes P. R.*, *Securitas perpetua*, *Aeternitas imperii*, *ulus Augusti*, *Pax Augusti*, *Tranquillitas Augusti*, — with Virtues,' notably imperial 'Virtues,' in prominence. It would e an interesting exercise to translate into the same medium the ritish National Anthem, 'God Save Our Gracious King,' — erhaps *Iovi Conservatori Aug.*, *Aeternitas Aug.*, *Salus Aug.*, *ictoria Aug.*, *Virtus Aug.*, *Felicitas Aug.*, *Vota Publica*, connuing with *Salus P. R.*, *Libertas Aug.* and *Debellator Gentium arbararum.*

We have already commented on the close connection that xists between the cult of *Genius* and the cult of the 'Virtues.' is curious to note that, when paganism gathered its forces nder Diocletian to cast down its deadly rival, the Christian hurch, it was under the sign of the *Genius* rather than of the Virtues' that it ordered its battle array. The 'Virtues' were ell enough for ordinary times and for quiet, philosophic thinkng; in times of difficulty and stress, when the very foundaons of belief were challenged, strength was found in concentraon on the simple and central belief in the *Genius*, the living pirit. From the reigns of Gallienus and Claudius II we find ne *Genius Augusti* assuming a new importance. Even Aurelian, hose own religious passion was for the Sun-God, built a temple the *Genius P. R.* The idea on which the 'Iovian' and 'Her-

culian' dynasties were based seems to have been that of th spirit of Jupiter and of Hercules, residing in 'Iovius' and 'He culius' respectively. Finally, when the attack on the Christia Church was imminent, *Genius* was the main type of the on coin in most general circulation; it was under the sign of *Geniu Genius Populi Romani*, then *Genius Augusti*, *Genius Impere toris*, *Genius Caesaris* that the battle was joined and fought t its close. The type disappears from coinage with the fall Maxentius and Maximin Daza before Constantine and Liciniu

The triumph of Christianity meant that religion had to b rethought in terms of a new experience; the very gradualnes of the triumph meant that the rethinking was thoroughly don and that old and new were blended in the system that emerge The converted pagan could not by any possibility change h whole habit of thought, his entire mental background in a flas He could only give free access to the new light. Just as surel as there was an *interpretatio Romana* applied first to Greek then to Asiatic religion, so surely was there now an *interpretati Christiana* of the old paganism. The idea that deity was re vealed to men by its 'Virtues' or powers was common to Chris tian and pagan thought in that age.[8] But the worship of 'Vi tues' was repugnant to the Christian conscience, which fel that worship must be rendered to God alone. The 'Virtues gradually vanish from the imperial coinage, but find a las refuge in the Court etiquette, which makes of *Vestra Pieta Vestra Mansuetudo*, *Vestra Tranquillitas* magniloquent and im pressive forms of address. The belief in 'Virtues,' however, wa deeply ingrained in the minds of men, and Christian apologis and teacher both found themselves called upon to take accoun of it.

Two methods were applied, the positive and the negative We will take the negative first, which consisted in denying th real existence as deities of the pagan 'Virtues.' We call Lactan tius (Divinae Institutiones) as our first witness. In the Epitom (ch. XXI) he observes that the senate

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[8] Cf. for examples Julian, Hymn to King Helios, 143 B on the δυνάμεις of Helio πληθυνόμενοι μὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνειδῶς ὄντες.

s eiusmodi commentitios deos . . . instituit, Spem, Fidem, Concor-n, Pacem, Pudicitiam, Pietatem, quae omnia, cum in animis hominum vera deberent, intra parietes falsa posuerunt.

ter (I, 3) he argues that

rum . . . virtutes ac potestates infirmiores sint necesse est: quia tantum gulis deerit, quantum in ceteris fuerit, ita quanto plures, tanto minores nt.

chapter 8 he shows how the 'Virtues' of great and power-kings led to their consecration after death. In chapter 20 joins issue with Cicero over the passage quoted above. irtues' must not be deified; for, if they are, vices, which are nnected with them in the human mind and stronger than they, l be deified too. He will not admit the principle of Cicero,

illa, propter quae datur homini ascensus in caelum, mentem, virtutem, tatem, fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunto,

cause

tus . . . colenda, non imago virtutis: et colenda est non sacrificio aliquo, thure, aut precatione solemni, sed voluntate sola atque proposito.

nobius (IV, 1) argues against the divinity of such powers as

tas, Concordia, Salus, Honos, Virtus, Felicitas. nos enim (IV, 2) nisi forte nmunem tollitis nobis atque eripitis sensum, nihil horum sentimus et cerni-s habere vim numinis, neque in aliqua contineri sui generis forma.

ven when Christianity was triumphant under Theodosius the reat, Prudentius, in his answer to Symmachus, finds it neces-ry to contest the divinity of the 'Virtues.' He ridicules the 'irtues' as *inania rerum somnia*, conceived by poets and tists (Contr. Symmachum, II, vv. 45 ff.), urges Rome to aban-n so vain a cult,

> desine, si pudor est gentilis ineptia, tandem
> res incorporeas simulatis fingere membris (vv. 57 ff.),

nd later (vv. 236 ff.) bids her listen to the voice of the Lord mself

> tu, me praeterito, meditaris numina mille
> quae simules parere meis virtutibus, ut me
> per varias partes minuas . . .

o enter into St. Augustine's polemic would lead beyond our

present purpose: suffice it to say that he devotes an acumen an a zeal to the demolition of the cult of the 'Virtues' that prove it to have been still felt as a living menace by the Christia Church of his day. We might almost conclude from his ton that these minor deities were harder to uproot from popula belief than the greater gods. The fight against them was lon to be sustained and victory was slow in coming.

Victory might have tarried even longer than it did, had th Christian Church waged no more than a war of negation. Bu she attacked the old beliefs with positive counter-assertions c her own. Paganism need not be completely destroyed if it ad mits of rethinking in a Christian sense. If we apply this princi ple to the 'Virtues,' we must deny them independent existenc as deities in their own right, but can give them their true plac in the divine order as 'Virtues' or powers of the Father Al mighty and may even regard them as angels, ministering spirits intermediate between God and man. So Lactantius (Divin Inst. I, 7) writes *Dei ministros non deos, verum angelos ap pellari oportere.* Constantine (Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum ch. 5) speaks of the *purus potus* which is drawn from *perenni fons virtutum ille quem celebramus Deum.* In the Acta Martyrum the 'Virtues' are already angels in the full Miltonic sense. Finally, Jesus Christ himself could be thought of as, in on aspect, a manifestation of the *virtus* or of the 'Virtues' of God It was one of the forms under which a pagan would conceiv the Incarnation. Lactantius (Divin. Inst. IV. 6) tells us tha God made *incorruptibilem spiritum . . . quem filium nuncupare . . . patria scilicet virtute ac maiestate pollentem.* Again (op. cit. IV, 15) he describes the works of Christ as *caelestis indicia virtutis* Again (op. cit., IV, 16 ff.) he shows how *virtus* was manifested in the Passion itself, but naturally finds that this *virtus* tran scends the pagan conception. We catch the same note in the prayer of Ausonius (Ephemeris, III; Oratio, 27 ff.)

> nate patris summi nostroque salutifer aevo,
> virtutes patrias genitor cui tradidit omnes,
> nil ex invidia retinens plenusque datorum

[9] Cf. Ruinart, p. 510, l. 4: Saint Theodore is now in the presence of God cum virtutibus et potestatibus. P. 549, l. 23: the guards of the Forty Martyrs saw virtutes quasdam e caelis descendentes et tamquam a rege magna dona militibus dividentes.

Arnobius (I, 42), answering an imaginary critic, strikes out an amazing answer: *ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus et perditus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus, et interim potentiarum Deus.*

Christianity was thus able to absorb almost without residue the pagan cult of the Virtues. They became, in effect, Christian angels, so far as they did not fade into the substanceless thing that personifications are today. Victory no longer flew over the battlefield — a Valkyrie of the All-Father, she no longer had her altar in the senate-house. But God still sent His angel to bear triumph to the side to which He was pleased to accord it, and that angel, with palm and cross, still appeared on the coinage, — sufficiently like the goddess to comfort the heart of any who had not quite unlearnt their paganism. There must be other such survivals by transference that would repay investigation.

The later paganism had opened a way — however arduous — for man to rise to the stars. But it was a way reserved for the noble and mighty. The virtues which led along it were not those of simple private life. Christianity, while changing the content of the virtues, universalized their scope and bade everyone, that would, follow the Master and earn eternal life by the practice of the virtues that he had taught. Enough of the vitality of the 'virtues' was left to make them thought of as active principles succouring men — as ministering angels.

We have only touched the fringes of a subject that deeply concerns the student of Roman history and religion alike. To those who love problems it will give material enough. More will be achieved, when certain preliminary studies, such as that of the imperial 'Virtues,' already called for by Wissowa (op. cit., p. 337) have been supplied. But even in the meantime the theme is full of interest and suggestion.